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The South Carolina Historical Association supplies the *Proceedings* to all its members. The Executive Committee elects the Editor. Beginning with 1935, every fifth number contains an index for the preceding five years. The price of *The Proceedings* to persons not members of the Association is \$1.00 per copy. Orders should be sent to the Secretary-Treasurer, 1501 Lady Street, Columbia, South Carolina.

**THE PROCEEDINGS**  
*of*  
**THE SOUTH CAROLINA**  
**HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION**

**1943**

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**JAMES W. PATTON**  
*Editor*

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**COLUMBIA**  
**THE SOUTH CAROLINA**  
**HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION**  
**1943**



## THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

The thirteenth annual meeting of the South Carolina Historical Association was held at the Hotel Columbia in Columbia, May 1, 1943. In the absence of the President, Lieutenant Richard G. Stone, and the Vice-President, Ottis C. Skipper, the Editor of the *Proceedings*, James W. Patton, presided.

At the morning session papers by William M. Geer and Lawrence F. Brewster were presented. Mrs. A. R. Childs read Captain Geer's paper on "Francis Lieber at the South Carolina College." "Planters from the Low-Country and their Summer Travels" by Dr. Brewster was read by Miss Nancy McIntosh. Edwin L. Green added some pertinent comments to Captain Geer's paper, and J. Harold Easterby discussed Dr. Brewster's paper.

Two papers were read at the afternoon session. Francis M. Hutson presented "Bentonville—the Last Battle between Johnston and Sherman," the paper having been written by the Rev. Robert W. Barnwell. Eugene P. Link read his paper on "The Republican Society of Charleston" to which Robert L. Meriwether added interesting comments.

The annual business session was held immediately following the afternoon meeting. The Treasurer's report was read and accepted. The Secretary read a letter from Lieutenant Stone expressing regret for his inability to be present and extending good wishes for a successful meeting. Officers chosen for 1943-1944 were: President, Charles N. Sisson; Vice-President, Eugene P. Link; Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Nancy McIntosh; Executive Committee member, Wilfred H. Callcott.

After the business session, the members of the Association were the guests at a reception and exhibition of Caroliniana in the South Caroliniana Library at the University of South Carolina.  
N. McG. Mcl.



## FRANCIS LIEBER AT THE SOUTH CAROLINA COLLEGE

WILLIAM M. GEER

*United States Military Academy*

The April sun of 1856 must have sent a warming ray to touch the breast of Dr. Francis Lieber, the distinguished professor of history and political economy at the South Carolina College. He was moved to write to his New York City friend and Columbia University trustee, Samuel B. Ruggles, a tribute to the natural beauties around him: "We are now at last swimming in our sea of roses. Our rose tide lets in generally . . . sooner, and for that time Columbia is really beautiful. Nowhere I believe, can a greater variety and full [sic] quality of roses be seen than here." These lines were penned in the twenty-first and last year of Lieber's residence in South Carolina. Reading them alone one might conclude that the German-born scholar found his Southern home a congenial place. Such was not the case. The mesmerizing roses and the warming weather had only for the moment removed from the mind of "Old Bruin," as the students called him, the memory of the unhappy events of the preceding winter when, chagrined at not having been elected president of the college to succeed James H. Thornwell, Lieber gave notice of his intention to resign his professorship the following year.<sup>1</sup> These sentences were therefore penned on an off-day for Lieber; they were out of harmony with his usual feelings. The spring was playing tricks on him, and, in fact, with a more intimate knowledge of his feelings about this residence one can almost suspect that he re-

<sup>1</sup> Lieber to Samuel B. Ruggles, Columbia, S. C., April 29, 1856, Stauffer Collection, New York Public Library. This collection contains some twenty letters written by Lieber to Ruggles.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, December 13, 1865, Papers of Francis Lieber, Library of Congress (hereinafter referred to as Lieber Papers, Library of Congress). This collection includes a large number of letters from Lieber to Ruggles, extending from 1842 to 1872, the year of Lieber's death, plus a scattering correspondence with several other people. These papers are reviewed with numerous quotations of their lighter-veined contents in Louis Martin Sears, "The Human Side of Francis Lieber," *South Atlantic Quarterly* (Durham, 1903-), XXVII (1928), 42-61. The bulk of Lieber's manuscripts, including correspondence, diaries, notes, clippings, etc., is in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The content of this collection is analyzed in Charles B. Robson, "Papers of Francis Lieber," *The Huntington Library Bulletin* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931-1937), III (1933), 135-55. A few letters from prominent Carolinians to Lieber are in the collections of the University South Caroliniana Society at Columbia and in the Alabama State Department of Archives and History at Montgomery. Charles Sumner's correspondence with Lieber is in the Harvard University Library.

gretted these lines as soon as the post left carrying his letter to the North where his friends and heart were, and towards which his ambition bounded.

In truth Francis Lieber disliked Columbia intensely; he complained of it frequently and at length to his Northern friends.<sup>3</sup> The climate was abominable! In a friendly letter to the then United States Senator William C. Preston he paid his respects to the breezes that blow along the Congaree River. "This moment—noon," he complained, "it is 35°! Southern climate [—] that [,] for March 11."<sup>4</sup> The same lamentation was voiced in March, 1855, when he wrote, "Yesterday we had snow here . . . tomorrow we may have it 88° . . . what a climate!"<sup>5</sup> But climate alone, was not at the bottom of Lieber's importunate disgruntlement. He had feared that he would not easily be a Southerner as he viewed the prospect of a career in the South. To his Prussian friend, Karl Joseph Anton Mittermaier, he expressed the misgivings he felt. He spoke of the reconstruction of the faculty of the college following the career of Dr. Thomas Cooper there, saying that in the process some influential friends had interested themselves in securing for him either the presidency or a professorship.<sup>6</sup> Governor James Hamilton had written to Nicholas Biddle in Philadelphia that Lieber would likely be appointed. "Yet," Lieber qualified his outlook, "I am well aware how much I must give up in accepting the situation. I must bid farewell to all that is most precious and dear to me, and shall be compelled to live in a Slave State."<sup>7</sup> Here then was a more serious inhibition, plaguing the conscience of the liberal. He must earn his living among slaveholders; he must live among the Fire Eaters and "cogitate a philosophy of freedom in the land of slavery."<sup>8</sup> On his first day of

<sup>3</sup> Merle Curti, "Francis Lieber and Nationalism," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* (San Marino, Cal., 1937-), IV (1941), 268-69. Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, July 14, October 10, 1842; March 18, October 23, 1847; April 8, 1849; October 22, 1852, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress. Lieber Journal, October 27, 1835, May 30, 1837, in Thomas S. Perry (ed.), *The Life and Letters of Francis Lieber* (Boston, 1882), pp. 108-9, 117.

<sup>4</sup> Lieber to William C. Preston, Columbia, March 11, 1836, Miscellaneous Papers, New York Public Library.

<sup>5</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, March 23, 1855, Stauffer Collection, New York Public Library.

<sup>6</sup> For accounts of the upheavals relating to the college during this period see Dumas Malone, *The Public Life of Thomas Cooper, 1783-1839* (New Haven, 1926), pp. 251 et seq; Maximilian La Borde, *History of South Carolina College from its Incorporation December 19, 1801, to November 25, 1857* (Columbia, 1859), pp. 127-180; Colyer Meriwether, *History of Higher Education in South Carolina*, United States Bureau of Education, *Circular of Information*, No. 3, 1888 (Washington, 1889), pp. 147-59.

<sup>7</sup> Lieber to Karl Joseph Anton Mittermaier, Philadelphia, February 28, 1835, in T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

<sup>8</sup> Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, 3 vols. (New York, 1927-1930), II, 93.



residence at South Carolina he relieved his emotions by writing in his diary, "Slavery. This nasty, dirty, selfish institution." A few years later he was saying to an intimate of his, that he did long to be "away from a land where the sky is so bright and the negroes so black. I accuse no one; I complain of no one; I rant at no one, but I still say, I was not born for niggery."<sup>9</sup>

The explanation of this formidable conflict between the reality of living in the South and the idealism of Lieber's thinking lies in his background. Born in Berlin in 1800, he passed his boyhood and early youth during the excitement of the Napoleonic wars. He, himself, served in the army under Blücher, fighting through the Waterloo campaign and receiving severe wounds at Namur. In this period his imagination was fired by the *Turner* nationalist youth movement headed by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn. Government reaction after Waterloo frowned on Jahn's activities, and Lieber was arrested in 1819 as a dangerous character, imprisoned for four months, and when released was denied normal educational opportunities. He did, ultimately secure his Ph.D. degree at Jena, and then was off to Greece, enthusiastic for the War of Liberation. After a bitter disillusionment there he returned to Germany, having won the friendship of the German historian Niebuhr, whom he met in Italy.<sup>10</sup> But this friendship with the Prussian ambassador to Italy proved insufficient to prevent his second arrest soon afterward. Deciding that he had best leave his native land, he fled in 1826 to England and thence the next year to Boston to take charge of a gymnasium and swimming school. Lionized because of his German education and degree, he made many influential friends who enabled him to pursue literary work, though with meagre income. In 1829 he brought out the first volume of *Encyclopaedia Americana*, modeled on a famous German work, and followed it with twelve later volumes and many later editions. In 1834 he moved to Philadelphia to be nearer his publisher. He found withal that his writings did not bring in a steady or handsome income. He had married Matilda Oppenheimer in 1829 which increased his obligations. Therefore a steady income became a necessity. When he had entered into the Napoleonic Wars, the German nationalist movement, and the Greek War of Liberation high principle had guided him, only to lead in the direction of bodily wounds, imprisonment, exile, and poverty. In America later the necessity for establishing a new

<sup>9</sup> Lieber Journal, October 10, 1835, in T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

<sup>10</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, July 14, 1842, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>11</sup> The Columbia University Library has Lieber's manuscript journal of his experiences in Greece.

sense of values was apparent; a man must provide for himself and his own even if that required the sublimation of some of his principles. Lieber stated this very directly many years later in explaining to a friend his long, though frustrated career in the South. "You are astonished that I could stand a 20 long years' residence here," he said. "The answer is simple: They paid me a salary."<sup>12</sup>

In many respects Lieber had planned his life in America well. He took pains to cultivate people in high places and was repeatedly rewarded for the effort. In Boston he secured the interest of John Quincy Adams in his gymnasium, to the extent that the President, who was fond of swimming, came to the place to swim with Lieber and his schoolboys.<sup>13</sup> Finding that Bostonians as a whole did not share the enthusiasm of Adams and that the gymnasium offered neither a promising career nor a good living, Lieber made an easy transition to a literary career. In editing the *Encyclopaedia* Lieber did two things: he learned to use his adopted language more fluently, and he made contact with as many American professional people as possible, usually seeking articles from them for the work. Edward Everett, George Bancroft, Charles Follen, Joseph Story, James Kent, George S. Hillard, Henry W. Longfellow, Charles Sumner, and Robert C. Winthrop were included in his list of professional acquaintances. Many of them became helpful friends. In addition to the *Encyclopaedia* he wrote articles for German and French periodicals, translated books on prison reform, wrote of his experiences with Niebuhr and, in the fashion of the day, a travel book called *Letters to a Gentleman in Germany on a Trip to Niagara*.<sup>14</sup> He traveled and lectured, too, and met James Kent in New York, Webster and Clay in Washington. When he moved to Philadelphia, Nicholas Biddle proved to be a most useful acquaintance, and secured for him a commission to prepare a scheme for the organization of Girard College. Biddle also assisted in his introduction to the trustees of South Carolina College, but only after patient maneuvering and the careful cultivation of a group of

<sup>12</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, December 30, 1855, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress. For biographical accounts of Lieber's early career consult, T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*; Lewis R. Harley, *Francis Lieber, His Life and Political Philosophy* (New York, 1899); Chester S. Phinney, *Francis Lieber's Influence on American Thought and Some of His Unpublished Letters* (Philadelphia, 1918); and Joseph Dorfman and Rexford G. Tugwell, "Francis Lieber: German Scholar in America," *Columbia University Quarterly* (New York, 1898-1919, 1930-), XXX (1938), 159-190, 267-293. Of these the last is the most thoughtful.

<sup>13</sup> Lieber to Friedrich Wilhelm Lieber, Boston, September 6, 1827, in T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

<sup>14</sup> Published in Philadelphia, 1835.



prominent Carolinians, was the long coveted professional position obtained.<sup>15</sup>

Extracts from Lieber's journals show very clearly his anxiety to secure a position which would free him from incessant uneasiness about supporting his family and allow him the leisure to write. He thought first of a government position but the Jacksonians were in power and his friends, alas, were either die-hard Federalists, Whigs, or Whiggish Democrats. He was on the point of studying law when the South Carolina opportunity opened.<sup>16</sup> Biddle had introduced Lieber to Thomas Drayton, a member of the Charleston family, who in turn had recommended him to Robert Y. Hayne and Governor James Hamilton. Thomas Cooper, the fiery nullifier and economist, had offended the Carolina clergy and, accordingly, was relieved of the presidency of the institution. The entire faculty was compelled to resign and after a brief interim was reconstituted.<sup>17</sup> In this process the name of Lieber was presented to the trustees on June 5, 1835, and his appointment unanimously made. Six days later word of his selection reached Lieber in Philadelphia, together with a proposal from General Duff Green, advocate of Southern texts for Southern schools, to publish Lieber's geography.<sup>18</sup> Here at last were security, an academic opportunity, and a publisher's proposal.

Few of Lieber's contemporaries were able to see as clearly as he did the vast social and economic differences that existed between Columbia, a back-country town of some four thousand people, white and black, and the larger cities, such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.<sup>19</sup> The Southern city was less accessible, due to the physical difficulties of travel.<sup>20</sup> Its economy had an agricultural basis as opposed to an industrial one. Its leading citizens were gentlemanly, not scholarly. Having fled a country once to preserve his intellectual integrity, Lieber, possessing no local allegiance, viewed his new residence objectively, testing its social life and political policies "from the point of view of a

<sup>15</sup> Dorfman and Tugwell, "Francis Lieber: German Scholar in America," *loc. cit.*, pp. 163-64.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 166-67; T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>17</sup> Malone, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-67; Edwin L. Green, *A History of the University of South Carolina* (Columbia, 1916), pp. 40-43.

<sup>18</sup> Green, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Harley, *op. cit.*, p. 66; La Borde, *op. cit.*, pp. 418-34; Lieber Journal, June 11, 1835, in T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

<sup>19</sup> J. S. Buckingham, *The Slave States of America*, 2 vols. (London, 1842), II, 23-28.

<sup>20</sup> In a letter written after his return from a summer vacation in 1842, Lieber speaks of "sitting on those railroad benches and being shaken like a sieve in the mill, which separates the bran from the flour" on his way to Columbia. Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, October 10, 1842, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

politico-moral idealism, the rigor of which was intensified by his studies in history and his observation of contemporary political development."<sup>21</sup> He found the appointment expedient, but he faced the prospect with trepidation. Of moving his home to Columbia, he said, "I shall there have a settled sphere of activity, and shall be able to exert my influence in the right direction. It, [the appointment] will give me the means of supporting my family and the time to write on subjects which have long occupied my mind."<sup>22</sup>

Lieber arrived with his family at the college on October 10, 1835, taking as his residence shortly thereafter the western half of the double house facing the library. The college at the time consisted of only eighty-two students and five faculty members.<sup>23</sup> Although small, it gave promise of providing a pleasanter academic opportunity than Lieber might earlier have expected. When his inaugural address was delivered in early December, he wrote in his journal that Hamilton, Hayne, James Louis Petigru and others "were delighted" with it.<sup>24</sup>

Delight with the inaugural of the professor may have been warmly expressed, but it was not universally felt. If Francis Lieber had misgivings about coming to South Carolina, certainly a goodly number of his new neighbors returned the compliment by turning interested and suspicious eyes on him. Among the clergy were those who believed Lieber to be intellectually akin to the recently purged Thomas Cooper. Yet, in fact, all that could link the two was the provision in the plan for Girard's college barring ecclesiastics from any part in the enterprise. This proved to have been a proviso of the eccentric old gentleman's will, and no work of Lieber's. In fact Lieber had insisted in his plan for the institution that there could be no true education without religious instruction. Lieber was orthodox in everything, and the religious attack was too fantastic to carry weight.<sup>25</sup> Yet, eager for the battle, mistrusting conservatives searched through Lieber's many writings for ammunition to use against him and leveled their sights on him even before his arrival. "Abolition-

<sup>21</sup> Robson, "Papers of Francis Lieber," *loc. cit.*, pp. 141-42.

<sup>22</sup> Lieber to Mittermaier, Philadelphia, February 28, 1835, in T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

<sup>23</sup> The reference here is to the old University of South Carolina Library building which now houses the collection of the University South Caroliniana Society. Green, *op. cit.*, p. 45; T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 108; La Borde, *op. cit.*, p. 201. A few years later the college had improved a great deal as a result of new public confidence in it after the reorganization. Buckingham, *op. cit.*, II, 23.

<sup>24</sup> Lieber Journal, December 7, 1835, in T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

<sup>25</sup> Dorfman and Tugwell, "Francis Lieber: German Scholar in America," *loc. cit.*, p. 168.



ist!" was the cry of his detractors. To this attack Lieber replied disarmingly. In the public press he insisted on his religious conformity, his faith in free trade, and his insistence on state rights. He stated his opposition to slavery only in the abstract, but recognizing the reality of slavery's existence he held that abolition was impossible and undesirable. Some solution to the problem other than abolition must be found.<sup>26</sup> This position was a widely held Southern view; hence, Lieber was not an abolitionist. Still he might have emerged the loser in this fight had not Robert Y. Hayne, Henry W. DeSaussure, David Johnson, William Harper, Patrick Noble, and other prominent supporters come to his aid. Their prominence and respectability put an end to the controversy for the moment.<sup>27</sup>

Partially behind all of this, of course, lay the fact that Lieber was a foreigner, an outlander with a reputation for consorting with reformers and theorists, and—recently from the North. Under these difficult circumstances he felt little enthusiasm for his work and had a sense of isolation from his friends in Boston and New York. So completely did he draw into himself and alienate himself from his surroundings that he was to say after leaving South Carolina and on his wedding anniversary, "We have been married twenty-seven years. Twenty-two of these were spent in Columbia! What a lifetime! And yet it was never our home!"<sup>28</sup> Earlier he had written that he was an "exile," who was "niggered in the South."<sup>29</sup> Both the sense of distance from friends and home and of the oppressive influence of slavery on the scholar appear with regularity in his correspondence and journal. "I feel how far I am removed from active progressive and intellectual life," he wrote just after he reached Columbia.<sup>30</sup> Finding South Carolina so "disagreeable," he felt that his stay in the state would terminate soon, saying: "It is not only unpleasant, it is a positive evil to live in a place or community you feel no interest in, and every recollection of which would be wiped off from your memory the moment you leave it; in short a place with which you are physically connected only. . . . I cannot remain here forever!"<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Lieber to the editor of the *Columbia Telescope*, July 16, 1835, cited in Frank Freidel, "Francis Lieber, Charles Sumner, and Slavery," *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), IX (1943), 75.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Y. Hayne, et al., *Appeal in Behalf of the South Carolina College* (Charleston, 1835); John G. Brown, et al., *The True Motives Exposed for the Attacks upon the South Carolina College* (Charleston, 1835).

<sup>28</sup> Lieber Journal, September 20, 1857, in T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

<sup>29</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, March 18, April 23, 1847, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>30</sup> Lieber Journal, October 10, 1835, in T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, October 27, 1835; May 30, 1837, pp. 108-9, 117.

With this sense of oppression so often with him Lieber made haste to leave South Carolina at the beginning of each summer's vacation, returning at the last possible moment in early October for the beginning of the new term. He usually stopped in Washington, Philadelphia, New York and Boston.<sup>32</sup> Twice he vacationed in Germany and Europe, from March, 1844, to February, 1845, and again during the upheaval of 1848.<sup>33</sup> Writing to his wife from Heidelberg on the earlier of these trips he said that he could not return to Prussia to live for there he would be exposed to "a constant inner contest." At the same time he fervently hoped he could "escape" from Columbia. Boston, he said was the place for him. "God grant me Boston."<sup>34</sup> He regarded that city, where he had spent the first five years of his life in America, as his "American native place." There he had intimate and congenial friends, especially George S. Hillard and Joseph Story, and approval from this circle meant much to him. When Judge Story spoke of Lieber's book, *Legal and Political Hermeneutics*, as "the best treatise he had read on government," the delighted author wrote his wife that he was reassured, "strengthened for our dull, weighing down Columbia life."<sup>35</sup> Story's death ended a movement to establish a new professorship in Cambridge Law School for Lieber.<sup>36</sup> A decade later after having resigned at South Carolina College he expressed his bitter regret over his inability to return to Boston by saying, "With all my friends and all the people at Cambridge saying they wanted me, I have never had an offer."<sup>37</sup>

Thus in these years Lieber's characteristic refrain was his hope that some good fortune would bring him a Northern appointment. "In earnest," he wrote, "get me to the North—I am fairly drying up here, my mind's energy flags. I cannot write or work, yet I feel that in me which might serve yet for a lustre or two."<sup>38</sup> He spoke on another occasion of the intellectual "lead-  
 enness" of the South.<sup>39</sup> And again in asking scientific news from

<sup>32</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, October 10, 1842; June 30, October 3, 1847; December 24, 1854; New York City, September 8, 1842; Boston, September 14, 1842, and Lieber to Robert J. Walker, Washington, September 28, 1847, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>33</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, May 15, 1848, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>34</sup> Lieber to Matilda Lieber, Heidelberg, August 19 [1844], in T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

<sup>35</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Boston, August 17, 1837, in *ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>36</sup> Lieber to Mittermaier, Columbia, March 30, 1846, in *ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>37</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, December 30, 1855, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>38</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, February 7, 1843, *ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, October 3, 1853, *ibid.*



Charles Sumner he said "We live in an absolute desert here."<sup>40</sup> Few later castigations of the Southern mind and intellectual atmosphere have been so vehement as those voiced by Lieber. He believed that intellectual communion was necessary for animating scholarship. Once he said, "I have not one, not even one here who sympathizes with me, still less one from whom I could derive stirring knowledge in my sphere. My book [*Manual of Political Ethics*], . . . I have been obliged to spin solitarily out of my brain, as a spider spins its cobweb, without one cheering conversation, one word of friendly advice,—in utter mental isolation."<sup>41</sup> He constantly begged his Northern correspondents for letters, for news, for cheer.<sup>42</sup> "It is not," he said, "a lack of victuals, but a want of nourishment; not the privation of a house or a sheltering roof, but the longing of a home for my soul. These impel me to put out my feelers like some disconcerted and lost insect."<sup>43</sup>

Worse perhaps than this sense of intellectual exile was Lieber's consciousness that his every utterance was scrutinized carefully for the purpose of injuring him. He must ever be on guard lest some word slip from his lips or pen to betray to his suspicious associates his feeling of hostility to some of their institutions and his lack of respect for most of them. Ever frustrated in speaking his mind by an awareness that only silence concerning his real convictions would insure the living which he needed for himself and his own, Lieber kept within himself and in the care of a few correspondents those feelings which tortured him. Here then was the dilemma he faced: to remain silent was intellectual dishonesty; to speak out was professional suicide. When a friend asked how he liked the South, Lieber replied that he could only tell him if the friend "faithfully promise" to keep in strict confidence what he wrote on the subject.<sup>44</sup> Again and again he cautioned his intimates not to let his opinions be known. "Let

<sup>40</sup> Lieber to Sumner, Columbia, October 27, 1835, in T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

<sup>41</sup> Lieber to Matilda Lieber, Columbia, November 20 [1839], in *ibid.*, p. 141. Sending some verses to Ruggles for his criticism Lieber wrote: "I told you that I had no sympathizing soul here to criticize my poems

Not one soul but my confiding partner,  
And she loves too well and judges not—  
Not one soul to try, commend, to council  
To reject—what dreary, deadly spot."

Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, October 23, 1847, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>42</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, January 5, 1843, May 6, 1847, March 10, 1850, October 22, 1852, January 12, 1853, *ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Id. to id.*, Columbia, April 8, 1849, *ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Lieber to Sumner, Columbia, October 27, 1835, in T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

nothing slip into the papers," he reiterated.<sup>45</sup> On occasion he asked his friends to "read between the lines" of what he published.<sup>46</sup> Constrained in many fields of interest from expressing his thoughts Lieber compensated by an emphatic volubility on safer subjects, especially free trade. Here with relief he found himself in agreement with the pro-slavery advocates. *DeBow's Review* published his article on this subject.<sup>47</sup> Yet the distinction which J. D. B. DeBow's approval gave a Southern writer was small consolation for a scholar who sought a wider academic freedom. In a violent outburst in 1847 he spread across the center of a page in a letter to Samuel B. Ruggles:

"MAN, GET ME TO THE NORTH."<sup>48</sup>

In a rude mood two years later he proposed to this same friend that in the event he had to stay in Columbia that summer to die of heat and bilious fever and should not be able to get to the North, his friend might place this epitaph on his tomb: "Here lies a man who died of the South because the North would not have him. Peace with his guts."<sup>49</sup>

It was in 1842 that Lieber began to cultivate Samuel B. Ruggles, a prominent New York lawyer and civic leader whose interests included trusteeships in Columbia College, the Astor Library and later the Cooper Union. The two became acquainted through Charles Sumner and Judge William Kent, and as the years passed a strong bond of friendship held between them. Lieber's first letter to Ruggles was a restrained one of application for a German professorship which he understood was about to be established in the New York college, or for the chair of history and political economy if that became vacant. He hoped that the fact he was a foreigner and not a graduate of Columbia College would not militate against his appointment, as he had been cautioned might be the case. Referring to his South Carolina College position, he said,

"My salary here is precisely the same I believe as that of one of your professors, \$2500 with a house; our board have ever treated us liberally and kindly; and our vacations of three months, once a year are very agreeable. I have therefore no reason whatever for complaint; but the

<sup>45</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, May 19, 1842, June 23, 1847, January 14, 1848, December 30, 1855, May 9, 1856, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>46</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, February 1, 1854, Stauffer Collection, New York Public Library.

<sup>47</sup> Francis Lieber, "Free Trade and Other Things: A Philosophical Tutti Frutti," *De Bow's Review* (New Orleans, 1846-1878), XV (1853), 53-55.

<sup>48</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, May 2, 1847, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>49</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, April 8, 1849, *ibid.*



difficulty of educating here my children; the great distances at which I live here from the moving and literary world, the fact that nearly all of my friends live at the North, and some other reasons as strong or stronger, than these make me *anxiously* desire to return to that part of our country. Besides I would be of greater use there. . . . I should be delighted to be able to settle at New York in an honorable position. . . ."<sup>50</sup>

Receiving an encouraging reply to his feeler, Lieber became more self-assured and in his next letter began busily to suggest rearranging the duties of the faculty of Columbia College so as to have for himself a chair of German, history and political economy, the German to be endowed by an expected legacy and the other subjects to be transferred from a faculty member who was then teaching them.<sup>51</sup> By the end of the summer the prospective appointment was dimming on the Northern horizon and, although not divested of the hope of securing it eventually, Lieber proposed a publishing venture to distribute periodically "Tracts for the People" on such subjects as "Property, Public Faith (Repudiation), Parties, Schools, Government and Law, Industry and Exchange, Liberty, etc., etc." He closed by saying, "I shall see you soon, and may that God who grinds the minds of Trustees, whatever God that may be—I don't know, I am sure—inspire those of Columbia College with something or other that will bring me Northward."<sup>52</sup> Shortly after this communication the opportunity to go to New York passed, presumably without divine intervention.<sup>53</sup> Notwithstanding this disappointment Lieber became more attached to his Northern friend, and Ruggles in his turn evidently appreciated the intimacy of the scholarly, self-seeking European.

In 1847 Lieber sought first to obtain a place in the Smithsonian Institute and then to convince Secretary of the Treasury Robert J. Walker of the efficacy of a census and statistics scheme which he had proposed. Ruggles had been suggested as a regent for the Smithsonian; Lieber urged him to take the opportunity if it should offer so that he, Lieber, could work there.<sup>54</sup> These plans

<sup>50</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, May 19, 1842. *Ibid.* For a sketch of Samuel B. Ruggles' career, including a bibliography of his publications, see Franklin B. Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*, 6 vols. (New York and New Haven, 1885-1912), VI, 695-701.

<sup>51</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, June 7, 1842, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>52</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, July 8, 14, and September 14, 1842, *ibid.* The publishing venture which Lieber outlined in the last of these letters suggests his work for the Loyal Publication Society of New York City during the Civil War.

<sup>53</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, January 5, 1843, *ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia [June 18], 23, October 3, 1847, and Lieber to Robert J. Walker, Washington, September 28, 1847, *ibid.*

failing to mature, Lieber clutched at another straw a year later. Ruggles had suggested that there might be an opportunity for him at the Astor Library. Immediately, the response was enthusiastic. "I believe," wrote Lieber, indeed, I may say, I know—that I could be of some use in that establishment . . . and [I] should consider it a fortunate thing to be called to the North under such circumstances." He went on to detail how books should be purchased and arranged.<sup>55</sup> The will-o'-the-wisp faded again only to return to tantalize Lieber in the guise of an opportunity to edit the *New York Journal of Commerce*, and that too ultimately proved an illusion.<sup>56</sup> Still three years later, the indefatigable academician pursued an editorial post in Philadelphia.<sup>57</sup> "All I wish," he wrote, "is that I could decently and peaceably [*sic*] wind up, somewhere—not here. Can you tell me what the new 'College' in Brookline is? Howe writes me that he proposed me to one of the leading men as president. What is it?"<sup>58</sup>

Toward the end of his career at South Carolina College Lieber became interested in two New York positions. President King of Columbia College had sought and secured Lieber's advice on reorganizing the college as a university. This revived his hopes for a chair on that faculty, a hope ultimately realized.<sup>59</sup> An equally promising future for Lieber seemed to be offered at the Cooper Union, which was just then being organized. Lieber interviewed Peter Cooper in September, 1855, and made many efforts in the next year to impress himself on this philanthropist.<sup>60</sup> He praised the institution in a Columbia, South Carolina, speech.<sup>61</sup> When he discovered that Yale College had been using his *Civil Liberty* as a text for three years, he suggested to Ruggles, "Pray drop the fact . . . into Cooper's ears."<sup>62</sup>

Despite his unremitting efforts to leave the South and his unhappiness in living there, his scholarly activities at South

<sup>55</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, April 26, 1848, *ibid.* *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, March 24, 1852, Stauffer Collection, New York Public Library.

<sup>56</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, June 30, 1849, March 10, 1850, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>57</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, December 7, 1853, *ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, April, 1855, Stauffer Collection, New York Public Library.

<sup>59</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, February 24, December 7, 1853; August 10, 1856; manuscript entitled, "Lieber's Suggestions Regarding a University, February, 1857," Lieber Papers, Library of Congress. Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, October 5, 1856, Stauffer Collection, New York Public Library.

<sup>60</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Bordentown, N. J., September 20, 1855, April 4, 12, 17, August 19, October 23, December 21, 1856, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>61</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, April 4, 1856, *ibid.* Francis Lieber, *A Lecture on the History and Uses of Athenaeums*. . . (Columbia, 1856).

<sup>62</sup> Oystero Phagus [Lieber] to Cross Bones [Ruggles], Columbia, April 29, 1856, Stauffer Collection, New York Public Library.



Carolina College was not unfruitful. His principal works, the *Manual of Political Ethics, Legal and Political Hermeneutics* and his opus on *Civil Liberty and Self-Government*, were written on the college campus in addition to numerous articles, lectures and verses (which he published).<sup>63</sup> Even in one of his most vituperative moods when he had been condemning his adopted home, Lieber noted his debt to the institution he served for more than two decades. He said, "I will not, however, forget what has been beneficial, and [will] be thankful for the leisure I have enjoyed and faithfully used."<sup>64</sup> His books received a wide recognition, bringing him fame and honors and membership in the French Institute.<sup>65</sup> His students responded to his teaching, often seeking him out for advice and information.<sup>66</sup>

First and last in his career at the Carolina college Lieber enjoyed the friendship and support of some of the leading men of the state. When the first attacks were made upon him, the response of the trustees and prominent alumni was immediate in defending the scholar. In referring to some of these supporters Lieber was compelled to contradict his own broad generalization on the intellectual poverty of the South. "Preston I like very much," he wrote in his journal. "He is a thinking man and a gentleman . . . Preston . . . shares my views on slavery, so does Professor Nott."<sup>67</sup> After a talk with John C. Calhoun he wrote, "Calhoun is mind, through and through."<sup>68</sup> On more than one occasion he found himself in agreement with the state's leading Unionists, James Louis Petigru and B. F. Perry. The latter spoke of Lieber as "a sort of walking library" who was "not very graceful in his person, though genteel."<sup>69</sup> Nor did Lieber deny that he was kindly treated on the college campus; his letters show many instances of touching affection for himself and his family.<sup>70</sup> A trustee of the college, William F. DeSaussure urged the scholar to adjust himself to his new surroundings. Lieber quotes him as

<sup>63</sup> The first two of these were published in Boston in 1838-1839, the latter in Philadelphia in 1853. See Lieber Journal, January 4, 1836, May 16, 1837, and May 9, 1839, in T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 115, 137.

<sup>64</sup> Lieber to Matilda Lieber, Columbia, November 20 [1839], in *ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>65</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, March 19, 1851, January 1, June 10, 1854, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>66</sup> La Borde, *op. cit.*, pp. 429-430; Green, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>67</sup> William Campbell Preston (1794-1860) was United States Senator from South Carolina, 1836-1842, and president of the South Carolina College, 1845-1851. Henry Junius Nott was a colleague of Lieber's at the South Carolina College. T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

<sup>68</sup> Lieber Journal, September 7, 1837, in *ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>69</sup> B. F. Perry, *Reminiscences of Public Men* (Greenville, 1889), p. 147.

<sup>70</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Boston, September 14, 1842, Columbia, June 24, 1850, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress. Lieber to Robert W. Gibbes, Columbia, May 23, 1848, Miscellaneous Papers, New York Public Library.

having said, "You must become one of us; you will only be comfortable when you build a house in the sand-hills!" Lieber's unspoken rejoinder was, "Then may the d—— fetch the comfort!"<sup>71</sup> The foreigner had no inclination to change his habits or outlook. Though Lieber was often disdainful of the scholarship of his faculty colleagues, they usually honored him for his erudition and professional standing.<sup>72</sup> During his last year at the college when the pro-slavery attack on Lieber occurred, Professor Maximilian LaBorde rushed into print to uphold Lieber's position.<sup>73</sup>

Lieber was careful not to involve himself in many state political issues. He had, however, for a long time been interested in prison reform and penal law.<sup>74</sup> When a state legislative committee headed by B. F. Perry was appointed in 1838 to investigate the merits of a penitentiary system of punishment Lieber supported the majority view that South Carolina should revise her antiquated penal laws and establish a state penitentiary. He wrote a long open letter to Governor Patrick Noble, which was published as a part of the legislative committee's report, and a pamphlet on penal law.<sup>75</sup> There was some opposition to the proposals of Lieber, Perry, and the majority of the legislative committee for the erection of a penitentiary and the revision of the criminal statutes, though ultimately their recommendations were adopted.<sup>76</sup>

There were many factors in the personality and background of Francis Lieber which would have militated against his success in South Carolina, as indeed they did elsewhere, even had he been more willing to adjust himself to life in the South. He, himself, was conscious that these set him apart from his Columbia neighbors. He wrote "I am fully convinced . . . people have found out instinctively that I am not one of them. Nothing positive has

<sup>71</sup> Lieber Journal, May 30, 1837, in T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>72</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, May, 1848, June 27, 1853, April 4, 1856, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>73</sup> New York *Daily Tribune*, May 12, 1856. Professor La Borde was later compelled by public pressure to recant a part of what he had said in Lieber's defense.

<sup>74</sup> Lieber to Joseph R. Ingersoll, Columbia, January [?], and *id.* to Joseph B. Boyd, Columbia, October 3, 1837, Miscellaneous Papers, New York Public Library.

<sup>75</sup> Francis Lieber, *A Popular Essay on Subjects of Penal Law . . . and Labor* (Philadelphia, 1838); S. C. House of Representatives, *Report of the Special Committee Appointed at the Session of 1838 on the Subject of the Penitentiary System* (Columbia, 1839), pp. 35-62.

<sup>76</sup> B. F. Perry states that he sought Lieber's aid and had Governor Noble to request Lieber's opinions. The public letter was Lieber's reply. See B. F. Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 145, and Journal of B. F. Perry, October 10, 1835, and February 22, 1839, in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.



happened, no offense given. . . ." He was aware that he might do many things of current fashion to offset this hostility, such as: building a home in the sand-hills, smoking his own hams, keeping two horses, or writing a pamphlet in favor of slavery. Some of these things he was unwilling to do for lack of inclination; others he was determined to avoid on principle. Rather than write a pro-slavery argument, he said, "I would sooner cut off my right hand!"<sup>77</sup>

Lieber's very high regard for himself as a scholar likely did little to recommend him to a community of people who had an exaggerated conception of gentlemanliness and small interest in scholarship. Although Lieber's eminence was widely recognized, it is sometimes surprising to find him artlessly comparing himself with contemporary and past celebrities, in writing to his friends: "Are you reading De Tocqueville's *Old Regime*? In spite of a few apparent contradictions, it is an excellent book, and a very commentary upon 2 or 3 chapters of my *Civil Liberty*. There is a peculiar class of pol. philosophers or publicists, which might be called historico-philosophical publicists, the three most prominent of which, so far as I know, are Montesquieu, De Tocqueville and Lieber."<sup>78</sup> Again he compared himself with Hugo Grotius, international law being their common field and the composition of verses their common amusement.<sup>79</sup> He noted that the opinion of a Michigan Supreme Court justice was "Lieber all over," and that President Theodore D. Woolsey of Yale College had stated that no one could "measure swords" with the author of *Civil Liberty*.<sup>80</sup> In commenting on his writings on ethics, Lieber wrote, "No German I know, could have analyzed public life as I have done. . . . I may call the work peculiarly my own, since I only would have written it. . . ."<sup>81</sup> In seeking to join the Columbia

<sup>77</sup> Lieber Journal, July 29, 1842, in T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-71. Joseph Le Conte, noted scientist, who joined the South Carolina College faculty in the last year of Lieber's service there found his residence a very satisfactory one. "My life in Columbia was perhaps the most pleasant in my whole career," he wrote. "The society was the most refined and cultivated I have ever known . . . three institutions of learning, the South Carolina College, the Theological Seminary and the Military Academy, formed the nucleus about which gathered many intellectual men and women. Such men as Dr. Thornwell, Dr. [Benjamin M.] Palmer, William C. Preston, and Wade Hampton, are rare in any community. My intellectual activity was powerfully stimulated, and I wrote many articles. *The Autobiography of Joseph Le Conte* (New York, 1903), p. 172.

<sup>78</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, October 23, 1856, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>79</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, August 6, 1858, *ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, April, 1855, October 5, 1856, Stauffer Collection, New York Public Library.

<sup>81</sup> Lieber to Joseph B. Boyce, Columbia, March 29, 1840, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

College faculty in New York, he suggested to his supporter for the place, "I can do honors to a College."<sup>82</sup> When the proposal was made that he edit a German language paper for the German merchants of New York, Lieber was confident. "I *know*, I would become their leader, I know I have it in me to inflame, unite and move them."<sup>83</sup>

The fact that Lieber was a foreigner raised a wall about him which he never effectively tore down. His thick Prussian accent marked him amid the soft Southern voices of his Carolina campus. With pitiful regularity wherever he went—Boston, New York or Columbia—he defended himself against the prejudice arising from his foreign birth. The subject became a complex with him. When he was not, after repeated promises, given what he called one of the "paltry professorships" at Harvard, he concluded "... they do not want ... me. Perhaps because I am not a native, perhaps because I have lived in a slave country. If by this time my name is not sufficient to attract attention, it is worth nothing."<sup>84</sup> European universities regularly invited foreigners to posts in their faculties he pointed out. "There are hosts of professors in the University of Paris, foreigners by birth ... of ninety professors in the University of Berlin more than one third are foreigners. They select the best they can get."<sup>85</sup> Nevertheless it was years before he could overcome this particular prejudice in the minds of New York's Columbia College trustees.<sup>86</sup> Even his students plagued him on occasion. Once on entering his class he found written on his blackboard: "Why should a German draw South Carolina salary in Columbia?" In reply he took a piece of chalk and wrote under it, "Because South Carolina drew German blood at Camden."<sup>87</sup> "I am a foreigner," he admitted. "Yet ... history tells us that foreigners make the most loyal citizens."<sup>88</sup>

In South Carolina Lieber headed a small colony of German immigrants, speaking at their meetings and advising them on various problems.<sup>89</sup> He kept close ties with Prussian friends and went to visit them when he could.<sup>90</sup> One of the highest tributes he

<sup>82</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, July 14, 1842, *ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, May 2, 1847, *ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, June 10, 1854, *ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, June 7, 1842, *ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, July 14, October 25, 1842, June 23, 1847, April 1, 1855, *ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, July 14, 1842, *ibid.* The reference is to "Baron" Johann de Kalb, who fell at the Battle of Camden in 1780.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> Francis Lieber, *A Lecture on the History and Use of Athenaeums*, p. 6; Lieber to Ruggles, April 26, 1848, in Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>90</sup> T. S. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-61, *passim*.



could pay was to say that a thing was done "in a most German manner."<sup>81</sup> At the same time he had an understandable mistrust of those German institutions which he had opposed in his youth as suppressors of liberty.<sup>82</sup>

In religion, South Carolina had strong denominational predilections. Though Lieber was of a religious nature and was a member of the Episcopal Church he was extremely intolerant of the widespread evangelicism in the South. To his mind it represented bigotry of an exasperating kind. "It is Sunday," he once wrote, "and I must now dress to hear a keen, furibund, damning, tearing Presbyterian sermon, my weekly sit."<sup>83</sup> Again he wrote Ruggles, "All natives have a great advantage over me in this that town and sectional interest keeps them afloat. I might make up for it by joining Baptists or Methodists, but never can, shall or would. Let friends like you, who belong to the great order of brotherly humanity, somewhat make up for my doubly lonely position."<sup>84</sup> Such was Lieber's scathing estimate of the narrowness of the Southern mind. Unable to conceal this attitude completely he once had to face the threat of a legislative motion to inquire into the orthodoxy of his views on religion. Though the motion was tabled without action Lieber's opportunities for advancement to the presidency of the South Carolina College, an aspiration which he had come to have, were completely prejudiced.

President James H. Thornwell gave the college trustees notice in December, 1854, of his intention to resign as President of South Carolina College the following year.<sup>85</sup> With this change in the life of the college, Lieber, who was a senior member of the faculty and who had once acted as president during an illness of William C. Preston, mulled over the likelihood of his being elevated to the position.<sup>86</sup> He was not optimistic, yet fairly accurate, when he wrote to Ruggles,

Our president has resigned. His resignation will take place within a year. Everyone looks toward me, many trustees have told me that I am

<sup>81</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, October 22, 1852, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>82</sup> "Germany has no institution, has no popular Common Law, no tradition of liberty. . . . Modern Liberty . . . is after all essentially Anglican Liberty," he wrote. *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, April 23, 1847, *ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, May 2, 1847, *ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> Benjamin M. Palmer, *The Life and Letters of James Henley Thornwell* (Richmond, 1875), p. 383.

<sup>86</sup> Lieber acted as president of the college at the commencement exercises, December 1, 1851, and apparently continued in the office until the end of the college year. Preston resumed his duties in October, 1852. La Borde, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

their man. I uniformly answer: No one shall ever say that directly or indirectly I have electioneered for the place. But, although every one says that I am the man, I shall not have the appointment. Many side winds are worse than one keen blast. One will say: "Oh yes, of course, but he is a foreigner;" another will say "No doubt, but he always goes in vacations to the North;" another still: "Why, no one has such claims, but why has he never said a word on slavery?"; and still another: "Lieber is the man, but then, you know that Greenville Letter. Now that was so national!" Indeed these things have been said, and—I have always refused to attach myself to any sweeping sect. What a man I would be had I become a Methodist!<sup>97</sup>

Lieber's friends throughout the state discounted the obvious objections to him and urged his election. Many newspapers advocated him.<sup>98</sup> On the other hand there was strong opposition to him from the very directions which Lieber had suspected. This was the hey-day of nativism in South Carolina and the Know Nothing party plagued him. He wrote despairingly to his confidant, "What I long predicted has come to pass. The Know-Nothing party plagued him. He wrote despairingly to his confidant, the possible future president. I play Hector and let the Greeks and Trojans fight over my body. I say nothing and—am heartily, heartily sick of the cowardice of fellows who feel safe in attacking me because *no sect* defends me. I am so sick—of a great deal."<sup>99</sup>

Though Lieber was no abolitionist while he lived in South Carolina he was attacked as one. The fact that he had owned slaves could not off-set his studied public silence on the generally assumed benefits of slavery. His private hostility to the "peculiar institution" of the South had become known.<sup>100</sup> Also, his nationalist views had come to the fore when he indulged in one public address in opposition to secession in 1851. He had made the error of glorifying the Union and pointing out that secession was no remedy for problems of federation.<sup>101</sup> Finally, it was rumored about that Lieber had little administrative ability.<sup>102</sup>

When the trustees met at the end of a trying year they accepted by a bare majority the retiring president's recommendation and

<sup>97</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, December 24, 1854, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>98</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, January 14, 1855, *ibid.* See also B. F. Perry, *Reminiscences*, pp. 145-46.

<sup>99</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, March 23, 1855, Stauffer Collection, New York Public Library.

<sup>100</sup> Frank Freidel, "Francis Lieber, Charles Sumner, and Slavery," *loc. cit.*, pp. 79, 82-84; B. F. Perry, *Reminiscences*, p. 146.

<sup>101</sup> Francis Lieber, *An Address on Secession, Delivered in South Carolina in the Year 1851* (New York, 1865), pp. 3-5.

<sup>102</sup> Green, *op. cit.*, p. 61. Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, December 30, 1855, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.



elected Charles F. McCay, a Presbyterian who had been a member of the faculty for a relatively short time. As a whole the faculty disapproved of the choice, as did the public generally.<sup>103</sup> Vexed with the treatment he had received, Lieber resigned the next day, December 5, 1855, the resignation to be effective the following year according to law. At last he had made the break which for so long he had contemplated. He wrote to Ruggles that peevishness had not been the motive for his resignation. "It is the man the majority of Trustees have appointed and the means used to foil my election as president, with the knowledge that the college will go to pieces, that have made me resign. . . . I am now a mason out of work and must look for some building running up, where I may get fair wages. . . . The resignation . . . has made a stir in the Legislature. . . . The students are outraged. . . ."<sup>104</sup> It was true that his resignation was the excuse for several student demonstrations. Lieber lost heart, however, as time passed without the offer of a job. "I dare say . . . that I shall be obliged . . . to take to *book-making* the most odious thing," he wrote. "And thus will end the chapter called Lieber! Like a brook, destined to run clear and swift, sluggishly ending in a muddy cowpuddle, where cattle come to sip the thick stagnant, opaque, flat and tepid liquid, in preference to cool and to sparkling water."<sup>105</sup>

The students passed polite resolutions urging Lieber to reconsider his resignation. Prominent alumni wrote him. He thought that the Trustees had felt the pinch of public opinion turning against them. He wrote,

. . . I suppose they are sorry for what they have done; yet they would not now take me, I suppose, even if McCay were run off, nor would I much like the presidency. My resignation is to be acted upon in May. They will suggest to me to withdraw it. I certainly shall not do it without some conditions, and even then reluctantly. Besides, matters I tell you stand very badly. I am no alarmist. It lies in the cursed thing, the slavery itself. Now if we separate (although nothing whatever can be gained by it—but that is frequently not the question in history) I want to be with you, and not here.<sup>106</sup>

The problem of reconsideration did not arise, for the Trustees accepted Lieber's resignation late in 1856. The following January with only a prospect of a job Lieber left South Carolina for New York. An appointment was given him on the Columbia College faculty in May. He remained at this post until his death, winning

<sup>103</sup> Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-62; La Borde, *op. cit.*, pp. 336, 346.

<sup>104</sup> Lieber to Ruggles, Columbia, December 13, 1855, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>105</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, December 30, 1855, *ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, Columbia, January 20, 1856, *ibid.*

recognition, yet often experiencing disappointments remarkably similar to those he had in the South.<sup>107</sup>

Time and place were wrong for Francis Lieber in the antebellum South. Had he lived there in a later day or had his life been spent in a more congenial place, the maladjustments of his two decades in South Carolina College might have been lessened. As it was, his career there was one of tragic frustration. Of it he himself said, "My whole life is a continual walk in boots not made for me. It is a floundering life."<sup>108</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Harley, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Lieber to Ruggles, New York City, June 12, 15, 1865, Lieber Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>108</sup> *Id. to id.*, Columbia, April, 1855, Stauffer Collection, New York Public Library.



## THE REPUBLICAN SOCIETY OF CHARLESTON

EUGENE P. LINK  
*Winthrop College*

The city of Charleston, South Carolina, was the locale of bold contrasts in the final years of the eighteenth century. The pious saw it as a "wicked place" where card playing, dancing, swearing and racing were condoned; where the "spirit of contention [prevailed] among the professors of religion;" and where only the Negroes and old ladies attended church.<sup>1</sup> The less pious thought of the city as the cultural center of the Southern states with one of the oldest of the Library Societies, with the aristocratic St. Cecilia Society—closed to the plebeian and the man of business—and with other cultural groups too numerous to mention here.<sup>2</sup> The French Revolution, however, brought out in sharp relief the contrast between the democratic minded in the city and those who adhered to the older forms of authoritarianism.

Before the rise of any organized response to the pro-French, anti-French situation Thomas Paine's "The Rights of Man" appeared printed in full in the *City Gazette* in 1791.<sup>3</sup> The papers carried in full detail the French, Polish and other democratic successes in Europe, as well as articles on freedom of the press and of assembly. July the Fourth was hailed with elaborate celebrations and toasts reading that "part of the sovereignty of government lies in the breast of every American."<sup>4</sup> By the year 1793 the issue of French enthusiasm, coupled with dissatisfaction over the anti-democratic actions of some American Federal officials, had aroused emotions to a white heat.<sup>5</sup> Well known Charlestonians such as Governor William Moultrie, Dr. David Ramsey, and John and Edward Rutledge attended a great pro-French celebration, drank to Thomas Paine "and the universal republic," and exchanged warm felicities with Mangourit, the French consul.<sup>6</sup> To the tune of "God Save the King," the wilder enthusiasts sang:

<sup>1</sup> Francis Asbury, *The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury*, 3 vols. (New York, 1821), II, 215.

<sup>2</sup> Rufus Griswold, *The Republican Court* (New York, 1867), p. 332.

<sup>3</sup> *City Gazette* (Charleston), July 20, 1791.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Eugene P. Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies 1790-1800* (New York, 1942), pp. 19-43.

<sup>6</sup> *City Gazette*, January 15, 1793.

God save the guillotine,  
 'Till Englands King and Queen  
 Her power shall prove.  
 'Till each annointed knob,  
 Affords a clipping job,  
 Let no vile hater rob  
 The guillotine.

When all the scepter'd crew,  
 Have paid their homage due  
 To the guillotine,  
 Let freedom's flag advance,  
 'Till the all the world like France,  
 O'er tyrants graves shall dance,  
 And peace begin.<sup>7</sup>

There were at least two societies in Charleston in these years that reflected the unsettled conditions at home and abroad and spoke up for democracy. One of these was the American Revolution Society which was organized out of a society for celebrating the Fourth of July. Its birth date is July 4, 1792. Its members, including such men as Chancellor John Mathews, Timothy Ford and Dr. Ramsey, were sympathetic toward giving Joseph Priestley asylum in America; and each time the organization met it lifted a toast to the new democratic ally, France.<sup>8</sup> The other society was the Tammany Society of Charleston. Little is known of its membership, but there is evidence of its passion for democracy in the toasts on special occasions. For instance, "The stings of conscience, the lash of public censure, and the contempt of mankind, to all anti-republicans in and out of congress." Or again, "May the union of our sister republics of France and America diffuse the spirit of liberty throughout the world, to the extermination of tyranny in all its shapes and forms, and the establishment of the political millennium."<sup>9</sup>

There were two other societies in the city that did not merely reflect the current emotions, but really grew up as a response to the national and world picture. The lesser in importance was the French Patriotic Society. It welcomed into membership Frenchmen, French descendants, and all friends of liberty. Accordingly, its rolls included not only "Peignier, the hairdresser; cit. Paris, our baker; cit. Pencil, the tinman; cit. Anthony, the sadler;

<sup>7</sup> *South Carolina State Gazette* (Charleston), December 5, 1794.

<sup>8</sup> *City Gazette*, July 6, 1792, and July 7, 1794.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, May 3, 1794.



Dubard, the hairdresser; Olman, the maker of patees or cakes; Audin, the scene painter; Mattin, the tailor; Maziere, the barber; and Sudie, the maker of segars for our city," but also, Americans such as Robert G. Harper, David Ramsey, Thomas Lee and others.<sup>10</sup> The purpose of the society was to raise money to aid the French Revolution and to build rapport between the people of France and America. This organization gave aid to Citizen Genet when he was in Charleston by helping him find merchants who would allow French prizes to be held and sold at their wharves. This society never had more than fourteen members, but it has been confused in history with the Republican Society, its stronger and more influential cousin.<sup>11</sup>

Following the suggestion of Miss Jervy of the Charleston Library Society, the writer discovered the papers of the Republican Society in the Boston Public Library. It was impossible to ascertain how these rare and important documents of Carolinians got there, but one hopes that they will some day be returned to their native state. The manuscripts are preserved in one bound volume which bears the title "The Republican Society of South Carolina." In all there are thirty-seven pieces. The letters are addressed to the French consul, Mangourit. Sixteen are in English and twenty-one are in French.<sup>12</sup> Not all the materials in the collection relate directly to the Charleston democratic society. Many items are letters from other consuls to Mangourit and throw light upon French-American attempts to capture or drive out British and Spanish commercial influence in Georgia and the Floridas. In the collection are letters from consuls at Savannah, Wilmington, North Carolina, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. Their comments reveal new slants upon the Genet affair, the roles of Federal leaders, and French machinations in this country. But perhaps the most helpful contribution made by these papers is a full list of the members of the Charleston Republican Society, one hundred and nine in all.

The charge has been made and widely accepted that Genet sired the democratic societies, but this seems unlikely in the case

<sup>10</sup> *City Gazette*, July 6, 1792, and July 20 and 23, 1793; *General Advertiser* (Philadelphia), March 21, 1797.

<sup>11</sup> Genet Papers, April 17, 1793, Library of Congress. An example of confusing the two organizations was the charge that the Republican Society joined the French National Convention. Instead, it was the French club that did so. The Republican Society addressed the Convention, but did not ask to join it. See Drayton to Mangourit, April 14, 1794, in Correspondence of the Republican Society of South Carolina, Boston Public Library.

<sup>12</sup> The author is deeply indebted to Miss Honor McCusker of the staff of the Boston Public Library for a careful translation of the difficult French script in portions of these papers.

of the Charleston club. Genet arrived and departed in April and the Republican Society did not organize until some four months later. Moreover, the president of the society, Stephen Drayton, had no close contacts with the ambassador while the latter was in Charleston.<sup>13</sup> A log of Genet's journey from Charleston to Philadelphia indicates that only two towns through which he passed, later formed societies, namely, Dumfries, Virginia and Baltimore, Maryland.<sup>14</sup> People in this country hailed him, feasted him, and gave him aid, but the societies upholding democracy were indigenous. Their roots were American.

So often the patriotic clubs of the 1790's congealed around a militia company and Charleston was no exception. Benjamin Lagare was at once a justice of the peace and captain of the Charleston Battalion of Artillery. He invited Mangourit to dine with the battalion at Harris's (where the Republican Society was later to meet) in honor of the birthday of President Washington in 1793. In August of the same year this battalion and other militia companies and private citizens formed the Republican Society. According to a broadside found among the Genet Papers in the Library of Congress<sup>15</sup> the club's purpose was to uphold France for "The interest and preservation of France is that of America." Furthermore, the members must be watchful for there were characters who were not with them in spirit, and yet among them; and just as patriots once risked their lives for freedom, they were now willing to do the same to defend that freedom.

The society usually met at Harris's hotel or tavern, located at 120 East Bay street. It was a rendezvous for sailors, ship captains and traders conveniently located on the waterfront. From time to time Harris's dressed and advertised fine green turtles. Families could bring their pails and be supplied from two to four o'clock on these days. The hotel had its own wine cellar of capacious proportions, and it is said that it was the first tavern to receive rare and fine grades of coffee. It later became a French coffee house.<sup>16</sup> While the Republican Society, certain militia companies, and the Mechanics Society—the latter an organization of craftsmen and laborers very democratic in spirit—used Harris's for meetings, the Cincinnati and the Chamber of Commerce, of more aristocratic demean, met at William's Coffee House. Accordingly, the Republicans met one place, the Federalists another.

<sup>13</sup> In Genet's list of Charlestonians he remembers as having called upon him while he was in the city there is no mention of Drayton. Genet Papers, April, 1793, Library of Congress.

<sup>14</sup> Log of Route to Philadelphia, Genet Papers, April, 1793.

<sup>15</sup> August 20, 1793.

<sup>16</sup> *Charleston Evening Post*, February 16, 1928.



Before a banquet and toasts at Harris's the Republican Society often met at the City Hall to hear an oration by a prominent democrat.<sup>17</sup>

This Society was organized, as has been indicated, because of "the serious aspects of the times." Its object was to watch certain characters among Americans who seemed to want to restore tyranny. Therefore, "patriot sons formed themselves into societies under different denominations, but all for one general purpose—that of watching narrowly public characters."<sup>18</sup> So an important part of the club's program was to inform citizens about their national and local representatives in government, and urge that men be chosen of integrity and ability, not too closely tied to the British monarchical system. The members in Charleston and elsewhere insisted on their right to investigate the actions of men in positions of power and to publish their findings in a free press. William Smith, whom the club indicted as a "dangerous anti-republican" was one example. Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality of 1793 being accepted as a law by which citizens could be punished, was another. Instead, public officers are servants of the people and should be amenable to public will. The society claimed that James Madison was such, and commended him for his position. Writing in the name of the Republican Society, Stephen Drayton, president, complimented Madison on his congressional acts, on his preserving faith in an ally like France, and upon his true love for liberty.<sup>19</sup>

In this sense, the democratic society was not only defending the patriotic right to freedom of speech, press, and assembly, but it was also serving as an adult education instrument, a sort of post-revolutionary men's League of Women Voters. The motivating idea was that citizens did not elect representatives and then turn all governing over to them without question, but instead the people must constantly express their feelings. Change is relentless, and the society was establishing a methodology for adapting to constant change. The idea is fundamentally democratic today, as well as yesterday.

France, by its revolution of 1789, joined America to become the only other nation in the world attempting to practice democracy. It was little wonder that the popular societies included the upholding of France in every way possible in their programs.

<sup>17</sup> *City Gazette*, February 7, 1794.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, October 8, 1794.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, March 17, 1794; Republican Society to Madison, March 12, 1794, James Madison Papers, XVII, 36, Library of Congress.

The Republican club sent to France an address telling of its organization and purpose. At a meeting of the Charleston society in 1794 to celebrate the Franco-American alliance of 1778 a dramatization was carried out by two boys. They were the same size and less than ten years old. Each mounted a chair. The French youngster wrapped himself in the American flag and the American boy draped the French flag over him. Then, together, they sang the chorus of *Ça Ira*.<sup>20</sup>

There was a close tie between representatives of France in this country and members of the Charleston Republican Society. Captain Boutielle entertained the entire club at a "civic feast" at "Citizen Harris's" on March 29, 1794. Influential people in Charleston gave Genet letters of introduction to other prominent Americans.<sup>21</sup> Stephen Drayton and Genet corresponded.<sup>22</sup> Governor William Moultrie and Isaac Huger introduced and recommended William Tate to Genet as one capable of carrying out mutual frontier projects.<sup>23</sup>

The warmest kind of fellowship, however, seemed to exist between M. A. B. Mangourit, the French consul and leading Charlestonians in the democratic society. On several occasions Mangourit's wife distributed cockades at patriotic celebrations. The records indicate that the people of Charleston liked the consul's family. Abraham Sasportas, the affluent Jew, tried to help Mangourit by loans to raise a corp of riflemen to fight for France. It was to be called "The Legion of South Carolina."<sup>24</sup> William Tate, Drayton, Samuel Hammond and Alexander Moultrie were involved with Mangourit and Bert, the Savannah consul, in the ambitious plans to capture St. Augustine and Florida.<sup>25</sup> Finally, when these plans fell through and the dejected Mangourit was on the eve of returning to France, he received farewells from a long list of republican sympathizers. Simon McIntosh, the mayor, sent one; Thomas Lehre, the honored sheriff and city commissioner did likewise; so also did William Moultrie, the Governor. All spoke highly, almost sentimentally, of their French compatriot.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *City Gazette*, February 15, 1794.

<sup>21</sup> See Genet's report on his American trip, July, 1793, *Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Politique, États-Unis*, Vol. 28, Pt. 1, Photostat in Library of Congress.

<sup>22</sup> Genet to Drayton, May 13, 1794, Genet Papers.

<sup>23</sup> Moultrie to Genet, August 24, 1793, and Huger to Genet, August 25, 1793, Genet Papers.

<sup>24</sup> Mangourit to Genet, June 14 and August 6, 1793, Genet Papers. Cf. Link, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>25</sup> Mangourit, *Memoire de Mangourit* (Paris, 1795), pp. 631, 646. See also Correspondence of the Republican Society of South Carolina, Boston Public Library.

<sup>26</sup> Mangourit, *op. cit.*, p. 10 et seq.



And the Republican Society itself sent a letter in which it apologized for America's "cold neutrality" and all the unpleasant occurrences that Mangourit encountered while here.<sup>27</sup> So from its members as well as from the actions of the Republican Society itself, one may gather the spirit and purpose of the club's program and activities.

But the society also concerned itself with forwarding the cause of democracy in other countries. "A speedy revolution in Great Britain and Ireland upon Sansculotte principles" was one toast.<sup>28</sup> Another was to the popular societies of England. And still another was to William Muir of Scotland whom one member proposed bringing to America in order to have his honored presence and to protect him from persecution. After this toast a member of the society arose and offered to contribute one hundred guineas toward such expense.<sup>29</sup>

The membership of the Charleston Republican Society has been analyzed and rather fully commented upon in other writings on this subject by the author.<sup>30</sup> However, there are a few additional facts which may be of interest to South Carolinians. It is to be remembered that the club was not composed of riff-raff as Federalist writings too often suggested. The majority of the members were craftsmen, mechanics and seamen with a representative number of merchants, planters, government officials, lawyers, etc. John Cox, Robert Howard and John H. Mitchell were members of the well known South Carolina Society. John Hamilton and Dr. James Lynah were Masons, the latter a grand master in 1795.<sup>31</sup> James Gregorie and John Blake were directors of the Bank of South Carolina.<sup>32</sup> John Markland was a director of the Reciprocal Insurance Company.<sup>33</sup> And twelve, such men as Thomas Lehre, James Lynah, Alexander Moultrie, and James Ladson, owned slaves. The average owned by the twelve was six. This may be compared with some leading Federalist families that owned fifty or more.<sup>34</sup>

Many of the members were interested in and devoted their time to community and civic projects. Lehre, Gregorie, Simon

<sup>27</sup> *City Gazette*, April 12, 1794.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, February 15, 1794.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, February 19, 1794.

<sup>30</sup> Link, *op. cit.*, 71-99, 171. See also Eugene P. Link, "The Democratic Societies of the Carolinas," *The North Carolina Historical Review* (Raleigh, 1924-), XVIII (1941), 263-265.

<sup>31</sup> *City Gazette*, May 15, 1795.

<sup>32</sup> *American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), March 1, 1794.

<sup>33</sup> *City Gazette*, July 18, 1792.

<sup>34</sup> *The First Census of the United States, 1790* (Washington, 1908), see South Carolina.

McIntosh, and Francis Huger were city commissioners and wardens.<sup>35</sup> These and their friends promoted the building of the Orphan House. Robert Howard gave a bond to the City Council of sixty pounds, one shilling and six pence as a gift for the erection of the orphanage.<sup>36</sup> When the institution was opened in 1794 a grand procession was held composed largely of laborers and craftsmen—soapboilers, coach-painters, gardeners, turners, bakers, butchers, hatters, stocking weavers, rope-makers, and carpenters—together with societies such as the Mechanics and Republican.<sup>37</sup>

The men and organizations in Charleston that opposed the Republican Society and its aims were, for the most part, those who were dominated by British ideas or were influenced by their close tie to English commercial power. Mangourit wrote in 1793, "this city is dominated by British commercial interests. The fact that Britain can give long credit to merchants makes her predominant."<sup>38</sup> And William Smith wrote to his constituents saying that he favored closer alliance with Britain because her commercial system was more favorable to us than was that of France.<sup>39</sup> Again, so many Charlestonians were indebted to Englishmen like John Schoolbred, or to English merchants like Edward Penman. These, in turn, feared the increase of pro-French sentiment and the danger of war lest it lead to cancellation of all debts.<sup>40</sup> Add to this the objections to Alexander Hamilton's taxation system, also thought to be pro-British, and you have an appeal from a member of the Charleston Republican Society with a strangely modern ring:

You will see human ingenuity on the rack to discover ways and means to draw money out of the pockets of the deserving and industrious parts of the community, while wealth, luxury and indolence shall have every contrivance played off to prevent a portion of their means from flowing into the national treasury. Listen to congressional debates, and you will hear the man possessing thousands endeavor to exempt himself from paying a shilling towards the support of government; and at the same time planning systems that shall drain the laborer of his hard earned pittance, who has not a shilling beyond his daily earnings. Are these things right? Are they just, fellow citizens? Are the authors of such inequality and injustice entitled to your confidence?<sup>41</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *South Carolina and Georgia Almanac* (Charleston, 1793).

<sup>36</sup> *City Gazette*, September 20, 1793.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, October 16 and 18, 1794.

<sup>38</sup> See Correspondance Ministerielle Relative aux Consulat. Rapport (Undated, but in 1793 box), Genet Papers.

<sup>39</sup> *City Gazette*, October 2, 1793.

<sup>40</sup> James to John Schoolbred, August 9, 1794, Schoolbred Letterbook, Charleston Library Society.

<sup>41</sup> *South Carolina State Gazette*, October 10, 1794.



This feeling was characteristic of republican attitude toward the opposition—the Federalists.

Even though some members of the Republican Society were writing in this vein and saying that "Rich men do not suit republican government," and that "the majority of rich men are for monarchical government"<sup>42</sup> in their own ranks were some with mercenary interests. One Francophile saw it this way. If France conquers Holland the Spice Islands will be open to Americans. If she conquers Spain, her colonies and Brazil will be open to us.<sup>43</sup> Hence, merchants who traded with the Indies and who were impeded by Spanish and English competition lined up with the republicans. But this was a minority within a broad democratic social movement.

By 1796 the Revolution Society had become Federalistic, and the Cincinnati had been completely won over to the conservative side, even though three years earlier these organizations were strongly tinged with democratic red. The opposition that remained immovable throughout the days of French enthusiasm was composed of the strongly pro-British St. George Society and the St. Andrews Club. These were led by aristocrats like Bignall, Courtney, West and Chambers who did not hesitate to lift toasts to both the King of Britain and of France!<sup>44</sup> Together with the Chamber of Commerce, these were the organized opposition to the Republican Society, Tammany, the Mechanics, and the Palmetto Society.<sup>45</sup> The former were the so-called "monocrats," representing the "rich and well born," and the latter were the "mobocrats," representing the poorer classes of citizens.

One of many attempts to discredit the members and the work of the Republican Society was that of charging its leaders with recruiting for France. Stephen Drayton, Alexander Moultrie, William Tate, John Hamilton and others were hauled before the state legislature for an investigation. Drayton's home and private papers were searched without a warrant and he was arrested and held in custody.<sup>46</sup> The defendants answered by admitting that they had recruited for France, just as Americans had mustered recruits in France to aid us in revolutionary days. They further contended that it was perfectly legal to expatriate one-

<sup>42</sup> *City Gazette*, August 22, 1793.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, November 29, 1794.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, April 26, 1793, December 4, 1793; *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), May 15, 1793.

<sup>45</sup> *City Gazette*, June 30, 1794.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, December 14, 1794. See also Journals of the Senate of South Carolina, December 7, 1793, State Historical Commission.

self and join the services of republican France, and that no mere neutrality proclamation on the part of the President of the United States could make such an act illegal. A proclamation is not a law. The Republican Society passed resolutions at a meeting on June 23, 1794 further chastising the South Carolina legislature for its unwarranted action. In the first place, the attempt of the legislature to convict and condemn a citizen of "an imaginary crime is unjust and arbitrary." Secondly, freedom of debate and liberty of acting without external restraint should be granted to representatives of the people, but they should be denied executive or judicial powers, which they have assumed in this case. And thirdly, the state legislature has acted outside of its field of duty." Drayton and Moultrie brought suit against the legislative committee for \$60,000, but so far as we know the case against the legislature was dropped and the democrats were never punished.

Alexander Moultrie, through a pamphlet entitled *An Appeal to the People*, wrote well not only in defense of himself and his colleagues, but also he expressed succinctly the broader educational and social point of view of the democratic society. Of his own case he wrote:

I defy anyone to shew any law creating the acts Mr. Drayton was charged with, an offence; and if there is no such law, were such acts, if done, anything heinous or so alarming? Have not citizens a right to expatriate themselves; and when out of the limits of this state on such a footing, have they not a right to act under authority of any government they choose? If not, how will the argument operate against every native European who joined us and fought for us last war, and are now amongst, and form that class of citizens.

And on social education, he adds:

Education, as the root and stock, will ever rest the prosperity and perfection of every *free movement*, for ignorance is the food of tyranny. . . . Give your children good education, it is a substantial, a never fading bliss, and not subject to the fleeting accidents of time. . . .

Let them not be dictated to, when they grow to manhood, in what are their just and essential rights, by some who may claim a pre-eminence of power from a pre-eminence of knowledge. Let them therefore, not be victims and instruments to the superior cunning and artifice of a few, for this is the perfection of aristocracy, and the nurse of oligarchy and slavery.<sup>45</sup>

As late as 1799 the hot fires of rivalry between republican and Federalist were burning brightly as indicated by the Jonathan

<sup>45</sup> *City Gazette*, June 24, 1794.

<sup>46</sup> Alexander Moultrie, *An Appeal to the People on the Conduct of a Certain Public Body in South Carolina Respecting Colonel Drayton and Colonel Moultrie* (Charleston, 1794).



Robbins case célébré. Robbins was a sailor on a British frigate. The crew mutinied and Robbins was later jailed in Charleston. Benjamin Moodie, the British consul, asked that he be turned over to the British government for punishment, even though he was Irish and not a British citizen. Alexander Moultrie and Andrew Kerr, both Republican Society members, became his attorneys. They, of course, were charged with being under French influence. In the midst of this dissension, Charles Pinckney, dubbed by the Federalists "blackguard Charlie" because of his democratic sympathies, wrote not only defending Robbins and his attorneys but also declaring that American citizens always had the right to expatriation.<sup>40</sup> There is no extant evidence to indicate Pinckney's membership in the democratic societies, but certainly his writings and actions mark him as a winter soldier of the democratic ideal.

As a distinct organization the Republican Society of Charleston disappeared three or four years after its heyday. A number of factors contributed to its demise. Too much democracy talk was dangerous to a slave system. There was a threatened Negro insurrection in Charleston in September of 1793, and again in December of 1795 Negroes were accused of an attempt to burn the city.<sup>41</sup> People were disturbed by clandestine meetings of the black race, where under the pretence of praying and preaching actually subversive doctrines were being spread.<sup>42</sup> Moreover King Cotton was just coming in as a profitable crop, in much demand in Europe.<sup>43</sup> So, the question, why push extremes? Excesses in France militated against "Jacobin clubs" here. And then there was the unrelenting attack upon the clubs throughout the United States on the part of Federalist national leaders.<sup>44</sup> These leaders discredited Genet in spite of Governor Moultrie's efforts in this state to bring forth the truth about the French ambassador.<sup>45</sup> Stephen Drayton wrote Fauchet, Genet's successor, saying that Charlestonians had lost heavily in the abortive, and, as history has indicated, premature projects in the West. William Tate went to France to seek reumeration for himself and his friends,

<sup>40</sup> Charles Pinckney, *Three Letters Written and Originally Published under the Signature of a South Carolina Planter* (Philadelphia, 1799).

<sup>41</sup> *Pittsburgh Gazette*, December 12, 1795; Great Britain Archives, Public Records Office (United States), Foreign Office 5:1 No. 20, transcripts in Library of Congress.

<sup>42</sup> *South Carolina State Gazette*, May 10, 1795.

<sup>43</sup> Aedanus Burke to Sevier, June 18, 1798. Draper Collection, University of Wisconsin.

<sup>44</sup> Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies*, pp. 175-209.

<sup>45</sup> Genet to Moultrie, October 15, 1793, Genet Papers; *Baltimore Daily Intelligencer*, October 30, 1793.

and Drayton closes his letter by stating that his personal income is gone and he feels deserted.<sup>55</sup>

The story of the Charleston Republicans, however, does not end so sadly. It is obvious to the modern student of democracy that while individuals may be oppressed and groups throttled, the spirit abides and moves into the minds and actions of other individuals and larger social groups. In 1805 "the republican citizens of the town" of Charleston were meeting. They celebrated the Fourth of July and were even more active in "watching narrowly" the local and national representatives of the people.<sup>56</sup>

A contemporary of Thomas Paine and a Charlestonian wrote of him: "A hardy democrat, who saw things in their proper colors, and who spoke truth boldly for the benefit of mankind. As his enemies could not refute him by argument, they wrote his life according to their fancy."<sup>57</sup> The same tribute may be made for the Republican Society of Charleston. It saw things in proper color and it spoke truth boldly.

<sup>55</sup> Drayton to Fauchet, April 15, 1794, *Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Politique, États-Unis, Supplement*, photostat in Library of Congress.

<sup>56</sup> See Manuscript 1069, minutes of these meetings (1805-1812), Boston Public Library.

<sup>57</sup> *City Gazette*, July 25, 1792.



PLANTERS FROM THE LOW-COUNTRY AND THEIR SUMMER TRAVELS<sup>1</sup>LAWRENCE F. BREWSTER  
*Duke University*

In the years after 1790, South Carolina Low-Country planters generally and regularly left their plantations during the summer. The summer (and autumn) months from May to November constituted the so-called "sickly season," when those who resided on the plantations were subject to almost certain attacks of an insidious and frequently fatal intermittent fever known as the "country fever." This virulent febrile disease, which the people of the period, physicians and laymen alike, attributed to the miasma that rose nightly from the swamps and lowlands, was domesticated on the plantations by the importation of Negro slaves from Africa and by the spread of cultivation, particularly rice planting. With the former was introduced the malaria parasite; from the latter there resulted a multiplication of most-favorable breeding places for the parasite's carrier, the anopheles mosquito.

To escape the dreaded endemic malaria of the plantations in the summer, the planters migrated with their families to more salubrious residences near by or traveled farther afield in search of health and pleasure. The dates of departure and of return varied locally and with the individual, and so did the places of resort. The principal resort, at first, was Charleston. There the more wealthy planters occupied town houses and enjoyed the economic, cultural and social advantages of the metropolis. The very development which helped to make Charleston comparatively free from malaria tended also to make it less desirable for a summer-long residence. Then, too, it was subject periodically to yellow fever epidemics. But across the bay was Sullivan's Island, a most convenient retreat for Charlestonians, that developed into a popular and populous beach resort. Over on the mainland in Christ Church Parish there was Mount Pleasant, which in time came to be something of a rival of Moultrieville on Sullivan's Island. Below Charleston, there was Beaufort, a smaller but more salubrious coastal town, together with a number of sea-island resorts that were the particular retreats of the

<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on the writer's study: *The Summer Migrations and Resorts of South Carolina Low-Country Planters*. A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Duke University, 1942.

local planters. These included, in addition to St. Helenaville on St. Helena Island, Bluffton on May River, Hilton Head and the other sea islands of lower Beaufort District, Edingsville on Edisto Island, Rockville on Wadmalaw Island, Legareville on Johns Island, and Secessionville on James Island. Planters above Charleston had a series of seashore resorts. The Waccamaw Neck planters were especially fortunate in this respect. They retreated to the beachheads of their own lands, which stretched from river to sea, or to such near-by resorts as Dubordieu's Island, Pawley's Island, De Kalb, Magnolia Beach, and La Bruce's, which also served the more distant Pee Dee River and Black River planters. McClellanville, Murphy's Island, Cedar Island, and South Island were the resorts of North and South Santee River planters, while the planters of Sampit River resorted to North Island. Georgetown was not healthful in the summer and was usually passed by for the seashore.

The planters who resided in the inland parishes and along the upper reaches of the rivers sought and found summer retreats near at hand in the pinelands and sandhills, which were kept safe by natural drainage and by ordinances protecting the trees and prohibiting cultivation. In these settlements and villages, from which many of the planters could, and did, still keep in touch with their plantations, some "riding" them daily, a wholesome community spirit and a picturesque social life were developed. Representative pineland villages were Summerville and Pineville in Charleston District, McPhersonville in Beaufort District, and Plantersville in Georgetown District. Others were Adams Run and Walterboro in Colleton District; Gillisonville, Grahamville, Hardeeville, Heywardville, and Robertville in Beaufort District; Cainhoy, Cordesville, Honey Hill, Pinopolis, The Barrows, and Whiteville in Charleston District; and Brooksville and White's Bridge in Georgetown District. One of the early inland retreats of the Low-Country planters was Stateburg in the High Hills of Santee in Sumter District. Aiken became the best known of the sandhill resorts.

Proceeding into the Up-Country proper, the Low-Country planters also discovered the Piedmont villages of Pendleton, Greenville, Spartanburg, and Winnsboro, where they established summer residences, or stopped off on their travels, thereby contributing to the growth of the local settlements and to the tone of society, and helping to bring about a greater unity between the two sections of the state. From these villages it was but natural that they should continue on into the mountains of South



Carolina and the North State to establish summer communities of their own, such as Flat Rock, or to patronize existing resorts, such as Paris Mountain, Table Rock, and Caesar's Head in South Carolina, and Cedar Mountain, Cashier's Valley and Asheville in North Carolina.

During the thirties and forties, mineral springs became a popular type of resort for the Low-Country planters. These planters helped to develop some of the many such resorts in their own state. Among these were Bradford Springs, Chick Springs, Glenn Springs, Limestone Springs, and Williamston Springs, and they also patronized the more famous spas in other states, especially North Carolina, Virginia, and New York. The increasing popularity of watering places from that time on added to the amount of Northern and European travel, which had begun in Colonial times, when many Charlestonians went to Newport and to England. In general, there was less migrating to one residence or retreat for the whole summer and more traveling from resort to resort.

This travel not only took increasing numbers of Low-Country planters to new environments where they had opportunities for new cures and contacts, which were variously used, abused and neglected; it also led to an increased amount of absenteeism and debt on the part of some planters, thus aggravating two of the evils of the plantation system. As a reaction to this, there developed, in the fifties, a stay-at-home movement that was tied up with the intersectional political controversies of the day and that aimed at the diversion of Southerners, including South Carolinians, and their money to local resorts, the promotion of which was another aim of the campaign. This campaign, aided by cholera epidemics and the increasingly unfavorable climate of opinion in the North, had some notable local and temporary successes; but neither the stay-at-home movement nor the Civil War which followed it were able to change radically and permanently the habits of the migrants and the fashions in resorts. By 1860 the summer migrations of the planters had become a fashion as well as a physic.

Some idea of the extent of these migrations may be gained from a more detailed account of the summer travels of a few selected Low-Country planters as gleaned from their private papers.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> To avoid a multiplicity of long citations, reference will be made to these collections only in the case of quoted passages.

Various members of the Ball family of Cooper River traveled considerably. They summered at Charleston, Sullivan's Island, Cordesville, and Newport, they toured the South Carolina Up-Country, and they visited the fashionable watering places of New York.

The town house of John Ball of Kensington, St. John's Berkeley, at 168 South Bay in Charleston, frequently served as his summer headquarters. His son John Ball, Jr., of Comingtee came to town in the summer and occupied his house at 31 Hasell Street. The Isaac Balls of Limerick spent the summer in Charleston, a practice which Mrs. Ball continued after her husband's death from the dreaded "country fever" in 1825. Both John Ball, Sr., and John Ball, Jr., removed their families on occasion from Charleston to Sullivan's Island. Young Elias Octavus Ball went there in 1827 and stayed with his brother Alwyn of Elwood and his wife. Another summer retreat of the Balls was Cordesville. There Alwyn Ball built a bungalow which was later bought by his nephew Keating Simons Ball of Comingtee, who in the years after 1840 generally spent his summers there with occasional visits to the Virginia Springs. Mr. and Mrs. Alwyn Ball and Elias Octavus Ball spent the summer of 1826 in Greenville, Pendleton and vicinity, instead of going North.

The Balls were one of the South Carolina Low-Country families intimately associated with Newport. John Ball, Sr., had begun to summer there as early as 1796 and his sons continued the custom. In September, 1827, Hugh Swinton Ball wrote to his half-brother, John Ball, Jr., that he had been at Newport all summer and was "delighted in the climate," both he and his wife having "enjoyed uninterrupted good health."<sup>3</sup> Elias Octavus Ball visited Newport on his Northern excursions in 1828, 1829, and 1830, being accompanied the last year by his brother Alwyn. That year also their sister Susannah and her husband, William E. Haskell, were there for the season. From Newport, Alwyn and Elias and the Haskells made excursions to Niagara, the Lakes, and Saratoga.

The Northern tours of Louis Augustin Thomas Taveau of Clermont, St. John's Berkeley, and Charleston, included visits to New York, Sharon Springs (New York), Saratoga, Lake George, Lake Champlain, the White Mountains, Portland, Boston, and Newport.

<sup>3</sup> H. S. Ball to J. Ball, September 1, 1827, John Ball Papers, Duke University Library. H. S. Ball had been at Newport the preceding year. *Id.* to *id.*, September 29, 1826, *ibid.* On March 8, 1827, he had married Anna Channing of Boston.



Here we are Since a month [he wrote to his son from Newport in August, 1842], my views, in Coming here was [*sic*] to rusticate, but instead of that we are in a volcano of dissipating and I am Completely tired of it, and make [*sic*] me nearly regret to have left Charleston for I am afraid it will be [a] hard task to bring your Sisters to a peaceable life but I am in hope, in a week longer—nearly all the dissipation will be over everyone will be looking for Home: but poor me. I cannot think of being there before Six Weeks. My intention being to Sail in the first Week in October, that is if Charleston continue to be healthy.<sup>4</sup>

In 1847 and 1848 Taveau and his daughter Rosalie were among the three hundred people who dined every day at the hotel at Sharon Springs and they were so benefiting by "taking the Sulpher Watter" that their complexions, he averred, would be like "a lily" when they reached Charleston.<sup>5</sup>

Mrs. Taveau's summer travels took her from Charleston and Sullivan's Island to Totness, Greenville, and Asheville in the Carolina Up-Country. Her daughters, Mrs. Robert Simons, Mrs. Thomas Waring, and Mrs. William Haskell, the children of her first husband, John Ball, Sr., visited Totness and Greenville; her son Augustin Taveau attended Mt. Zion Academy at Winnsboro in 1838 and 1839.

Frederick A. Porcher of Somerton, St. John's Berkeley, not only went to Pineville, Pinopolis, and Sullivan's Island in the summer, but also traveled to the Up-Country and on to the springs of North Carolina and Virginia. Pineville, according to Porcher, whose father's cottage was one of the more than sixty houses in the village, lost some of its prestige and population after two bad summers in 1834 and 1836. The gainer was a new retreat not far away and recently settled by Porcher and Dr. Morton Waring. Porcher described his house in this pine land, which was some four miles south of Somerton, as a "very unsightly" but "quite comfortable" log house of three rooms.<sup>6</sup> A decade later there were about a dozen houses in this settlement, which Porcher had jokingly dubbed Pinopolis.

Porcher spent part of one summer with his friend John Wilkes of Charleston at the latter's house on Sullivan's Island. They felt quite isolated from the rest of the Island, to reach which they had to travel the heavy sand road along the front beach or the hilly, mosquito-infested back beach road. Since Wilkes went into

<sup>4</sup> L. A. Taveau to A. L. Taveau, August 24, 1842, Augustin Louis Taveau Papers, Duke University Library.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* to *id.*, August 6, 1848, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Frederick A. Porcher Memoirs (transcript, College of Charleston Library), chapter 9, pp. not numbered.

the city every day, the horses and carriage were not always available. The result for Porcher was "a dull and lazy kind of life." He observed that "a dreamy kind of existence" was "the true charm of seaside life." Porcher and his friends suffered from the disagreeable heat and the oppressive stillness whenever the deliciously cool and strong breeze died away. They experienced difficulty in supplementing with poultry and fish the market that was irregularly supplied by boat from the city. In fact, Porcher complained that everything was done at the convenience of the boat; and he added that he had never seen "so large a community so content with the chance occasions of comfort and convenience which the steamboats offered."

That same summer Porcher visited Greenville, Asheville and Warm Springs (North Carolina). When he arrived at the last place in company with Wilkes and Andrew Johnston of Charleston, the governor of the ballroom was Richard S. Cogdell of Charleston, "who piqued himself upon the elegance of his manners," and the dictator of the drive was Edward Carew, who had a carriage and pair of horses.<sup>7</sup> But Wilkes, who, in addition to his own carriage and and three horses, had the use of the six horses and two carriages of Johnston and Porcher, easily maneuvered Carew out of his position and even took over the ballroom from Cogdell. On their way back to Charleston they stopped at Limestone Springs, Greenville, Pendleton, Columbia, and Pineville.

John B. Grimball of St. Paul's and Charleston visited such resorts as Edingsville, Legareville, Adams Run, Aiken, and Glenn Springs in South Carolina; Fletcher, Asheville, and Sulphur Springs in North Carolina; and Salt Sulphur Springs in Virginia. Beginning in 1832 he spent some summers in whole or in part at his town house, first on South Bay and later on Meeting Street in Charleston. From there he made excursions to Sullivan's Island. Deciding to spend the summer of 1838 at Edingsville rather than in Charleston, he secured, after some difficulty, a house for which he paid \$130 rent, and rented his town house for \$600. He first moved his family to town for a few days and then embarked them and his horses and carriage on the steamboat for Edisto, which they reached about midnight, having had to put back on account of engine trouble. After spending the remainder of the night at Oliver Middleton's house, they went on to their own. Their "things arrived by the sloop" about ten days later.<sup>8</sup> In

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, chapter 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, chapter 10.

<sup>9</sup> John B. Grimball Diary (transcript, College of Charleston Library), VI, Entries for May 1-23, 1838.



1835 Grimball visited the village of Legareville with Paul Grimball, a summer resident there, making the trip from Charleston by rowboat in about three hours.

Alexander Robertson of Charleston invited Grimball to go up to his country place near Fletcher, North Carolina, in the summer of 1856. Leaving Charleston by different trains on June 23, they met, after some delay, at Greenville, from which they took the stage for Buncombe at half past one in the morning of the 26th and reached Struan, Robertson's place, some fifty-two miles away, about six o'clock in the afternoon. While they were at dinner, Daniel Blake, another summer resident from the Low Country, came over and invited Grimball to dine with him the next day. After spending six days with the Robertsons, Grimball went on to Asheville and Sulphur Springs and returned by way of Greenville, where he visited T. O. Lowndes.<sup>10</sup>

In May, 1859, Grimball planned a visit to Aiken for his health. Since he "did not like the hotel on account of the desperate cases of sickness which were apt to be there," he wrote to his friend W. Peronneau Finley, ex-president of the College of Charleston, who was living in Aiken, to get him accommodations in a private boarding house.<sup>11</sup> Finley replied by inviting Grimball to stay with him. Grimball accepted and arrived there on May 28. He enjoyed an "exceedingly pleasant" visit with his hospitable host and hostess and some slight improvement in health. Although he remarked that the latter had not been as great as he had hoped, he admitted: "I am certainly less distressed than I was in Charleston."

On June 11 he set out for Glenn Springs and thus recorded his experience:

Having stopped a day in Columbia to rest and get some clothes washed, I left it this morning at half past seven, by the Greenville train—at Alston—twenty-five miles from Columbia I stopped and took the eleven o'clock train for Unionville. The travelling on this road is slow and I did not reach Unionville, which is but forty-two miles from Alston, till past three o'clock. Then I took a miserable dinner—and at four entered the stage for Glenn's Springs. I was the only passenger and the road being rough and hilly, was well jolted and did not reach the Springs until past eight o'clock. . . . The company at present is very small, but the season is not considered yet arrived.<sup>12</sup>

He did not remain for the "season," however, but left the Springs on the 15th and returned to Charleston by way of Unionville and Columbia.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 161-162.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, XII, 66-68.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, XII, 68-70.

## BENTONVILLE—THE LAST BATTLE OF JOHNSTON AND SHERMAN

ROBERT W. BARNWELL, SR.

*Florence, South Carolina*

These two warriors had met on a great many fields: first, in Virginia, where Sherman was just a part of McDowell's Army at First Manassas; second, in Mississippi, where he was a part of Grant's Vicksburg army; third, in Georgia, in the Dalton-Atlanta campaign. And now we see them in North Carolina, contending for the last time. In the Atlanta campaign Sherman was only remotely under Grant. With an army double the size of Johnston's his attacks were very feeble, but he justly won much praise for the handling of his army in flanking operations on Johnston's communications. Johnston's conduct of the Confederate force in defense, both under attack and in meeting and flanking movements, has become a classic, winning praise from the enemy and allowing little room for criticism, but when Atlanta was reached Mr. Davis dealt Johnston a stunning blow by removing him. To remove a general just as he faces a battle is a crushing disgrace to him, expressive of vast dissatisfaction, and the three corps-commanders, Hardee, Stewart, and Hood, besought Davis in vain to wait at least until the critical days had passed. Restored by Lee to command in an hour of great need, Johnston at Bentonville was so daring and skillful, and Sherman not only extremely feeble in fighting, but so lacking in skill, that we are amazed. In attempting to show this the writer must take great pains to adhere strictly to the "Official Records"—"the Reports" and "Correspondence" written at the time, and thus contemporaneous and authentic.<sup>1</sup> It is in them that above their own signatures Johnston puts his force at 15,000 "effective infantry and artillery," and Sherman his at 65,000 "fighting men." The battle lasted three days. Next morning Johnston was only two or three miles away, and Sherman went to Goldsboro to add Schofield's army of more than 20,000 to his own before moving towards Raleigh, and against Johnston.

When Sherman set out from Atlanta on November 16th his real designs could not be shown until he left Macon to his right and headed towards Savannah. Beauregard at once felt convinced that he planned going to Grant as soon as he could, either by sea

<sup>1</sup> See *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 130 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XLVII, Pts. 1 and 2.



or land. If by sea, Beauregard, in command of the Department, could do little or nothing, but he prepared against a land route as well as he could, intending to oppose any marching. The capture of Savannah would take time, and there were rivers with swamps in South Carolina that Sherman must cross. Sherman gave him plenty of time, for he spent more than three weeks reaching Savannah, and remained there, first besieging and then occupying, until February 1. Hood's army and the small garrisons at Augusta, Savannah, and Charleston had all the troops in sight. When Hood's Army returned from Nashville and Savannah was evacuated there seemed a chance, but Hood's Army was in Mississippi, and the Savannah garrison was sent to Charleston, and part of the troops at Augusta returned to Wilmington. Beauregard was never able to get a force of any size behind the Salkehatchie, or the Edisto, or the Congaree, and went to Charlotte to see what could be done at the Catawba. Having waited there, on February 23 he found that Johnston on the 22nd was placed over him, and another Federal army was arriving at Wilmington, now in Federal hands, to reënforce Sherman when he should reach North Carolina. Beauregard's work now became that of hurrying on the troops from Mississippi.

Sherman, starting his march through South Carolina, moved towards Columbia, not Charleston, and that indicated that he would go to Virginia by way of Greensboro, North Carolina, and not by Goldsboro. But at Winnsboro, South Carolina, Sherman turned eastward, and the going of Schofield from Wilmington to New Bern, which gave rail connection to Goldsboro, showed plainly that after all Sherman was aiming at Goldsboro to connect with Schofield, or enable the latter to join him near Fayetteville.

Lee's only order to Johnston was to "concentrate all available forces and drive back Sherman." The situation as to available troops was altogether depressing. A few of the Augusta troops were with Beauregard. The western troops were marching and using rails when they could, strung out at intervals of very many miles, and the nearest so far off that, inasmuch as Sherman had left Columbia on the 18th, it was very doubtful if any of them could come in time. Hardee, detained by sickness, left Charleston only on that same 18th. His objective could no longer be Chester but was changed to Cheraw when Sherman turned east at Winnsboro. He had to race with Sherman, and his troops were garrison troops and could not march like Sherman's, and he had three rivers to cross. Bragg's troops too were held to defend

Wilmington after Fort Fisher fell, and soon it was learned that Schofield's army was added to the foes to be met. The outlook was dark indeed.

Hardee's race for Cheraw was very close. Reporting to Johnston on March 3 from Cheraw, he tells that the enemy on the day before crossed Thompson's Creek only a few miles away. In fact, as the Confederates on the third crossed the Pee Dee at Cheraw and burned the bridge, the Federals came up on the other side. Hardee's troops, minus the South Carolina State troops that the Governor had forbidden to leave the State, were now only half in number of what they were when they left Charleston, so many could not make the rapid march. However, on the 4th of March, Johnston, coming from Raleigh, made his headquarters at Fayetteville on the Cape Fear, through which Sherman must pass, though Hardee would not arrive there until the 9th and Hampton's cavalry even the 10th. When all had gathered they crossed the Cape Fear the night of the 10th, except Hampton, who had remained and had a very successful fight in the town early the next morning. Johnston heard from Bragg on the 6th that Schofield had advanced from New Bern to Kinston and was exposing a flank, so he ordered Bragg to attack him, and sent D. H. Hill on the 7th by rail from Raleigh with 2,000 men (evidently troops of the Augusta garrison) to help. Bragg's troops were now all important for Johnston, who only had Hardee's troops, now less than 6,000, as his army for "driving back Sherman"; and the western troops were still far away, while Sherman was entering Fayetteville on the 11th. Fortunately, Bragg drove Schofield back for three miles, and again threatened his flanks. Schofield seemed checked below Goldsboro near Kinston, and Johnston risked calling all of Bragg to him. He placed Bragg on the 16th near Smithfield, which is halfway between Raleigh and Goldsboro. He had Hardee and Hampton just across the river from Fayetteville ready to delay Sherman if he crossed, whether that General chose to move towards Goldsboro to unite with Schofield, or towards Raleigh. Johnston now went personally to Raleigh for a day or two where he could have rail and telegraphic connection with Beauregard at Charlotte, who was trying to hurry on the western troops. A few were with him under Stevenson, Stewart might arrive in time if Sherman was delayed, and Cheatham was a possibility. S. D. Lee was too distant for hope. The western troops were patriots of the deepest dye, whom the wreck of Hood's army did not affect in a determination like that of Lee, Cheatham, Stewart, and Stevenson to fight anywhere and everywhere to the very end for the sacred



cause. They were hurrying, but could Sherman be delayed long enough for them to get there?

On March the 11th, when he had just crossed the Cape Fear, leaving Fayetteville to Sherman, Johnston wrote R. E. Lee discussing the question of uniting their armies, and Johnston tells about the situation, the numbers available for himself, and giving an estimate of Sherman's force. He was too sanguine about his own, for the estimate for the western troops was large; and he puts Sherman's numbers too low. Then he says—"Under the circumstances I will not given battle to Sherman's united army unless your situation should require such a course; but will if I can find it divided." Lee's reply tells of his situation, and views about uniting, and ends saying—"but rely upon your own good judgment and skill to accomplish everything that is possible to attain our common end—the greatest success."

Sherman, arriving in Fayetteville on the 11th, had to stay to get supplies, etc., and perhaps also receive reënforcements to some degree from General Terry, now at Wilmington. The stay until the 15th was too short to suit the Confederates. It was long enough, however, to allow Bragg to move from near Kinston to Smithfield. Johnston now had far the greater part of the troops he could possible expect—about 12,000. Sherman knew that Johnston had to collect troops to make anything like a formidable army, but he did not hurry. On the 12th he writes Schofield—"All told he may concentrate at Raleigh 40,000 to 45,000 men. I can whip that number with my present force." On the 13th he writes Terry—"I have with me, say, 3,000 wagons, near 40,000 animals, and about 65,000 fighting men." Johnston in his letter to Lee on the 11th had said that "doubtful information" put Sherman's army at "45,000."

Sherman evidently had a plan for future marching when he arrived on the 11th, for on that day he wrote about it to Terry, and on the 12th to Schofield. It was to cross the Cape Fear at Fayetteville and go east to the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, striking it somewhere near Faison's Station, and then following it north to Goldsboro on the Neuse, where he would order Schofield to meet him. On the 14th, however, he changed his mind and planned otherwise when he crossed on the 15th. The new plan was to go to Goldsboro by the regular road, which used the "Raleigh Plank Road" to a point near Averysboro before turning due east towards Goldsboro. The little Confederate army that came to Fayetteville was hovering on the other side, commanded, in Johnston's absence at Raleigh and Smithfield, by Hardee as to

infantry, and Hampton as to cavalry, who had Wheeler and Butler under him. If he went to Faison's these would be in his rear. Writing to Schofield, Sherman tells him that Kilpatrick, his own cavalry general, would have to "look out for Hampton, Wheeler, and Butler, all accounted first-class men." Then, too, Bragg could join Hardee, or Hardee join Bragg, and both be on his flank from Faison's to Goldsboro. If he took the regular road, which was the Raleigh Plank Board to near Averysboro and then went east to Cox's Bridge over the Neuse above Goldsboro, Hardee and Hampton would fall back before him to join Johnston at Smithfield or even Raleigh; for he writes Grant that he thinks Johnston "will concentrate at Raleigh." In either case it meant *a march across his enemy's front*. Grant had tried that with Lee at the Wilderness to his sorrow: Would Sherman try it with Johnston? Now Sherman estimated Johnston's force at 40,000 at least, and if so he was in a fix. The way out for him was to take transports to Wilmington, or to beat Johnston first, or at least drive him far away. Sherman chose marching by the regular road with light baggage across Johnston's front after sending his immense trains by Faison's, and wrote to Grant to justify himself.

Johnston, too, was in a fix—compelled to act and having only 15,000 or 16,000 and his cavalry to do anything with, even supposing Stewart or Cheatham arrived with a few thousand in time. If he had had the 45,000 that Sherman assigned him he would have opposed any crossing and fought the invader if he crossed, as was proved when Hardee and Hampton stood across Sherman's path near Averysboro, but with the force he had, his one hope seemed to be that, there being two roads, they would entice Sherman to divide, for near Averysboro there was the regular Goldsboro Road and another, and these two ran parallel and several miles apart until near the Neuse, where they united to cross that river at Cox's Bridge. Sherman calls the upper one of the two "the Goldsboro" and the other "the New Goldsboro Road."

Attention to the terrain is important. Raleigh, Smithfield, and Goldsboro are all on the Neuse, but Fayetteville is on the Cape Fear. Raleigh, Goldsboro, and Fayetteville, form an isosceles triangle with about 50 miles to each side, and Smithfield is half-way between Raleigh and Goldsboro. About ten miles below Smithfield, and not on the river but a few miles west of it, is Bentonville, and then two miles further south the Bentonville Road crosses the Goldsboro Road, and a few miles further still, the New Goldsboro. Johnston, concentrating at Smithfield, could



move to guard either Raleigh or Goldsboro. To protect Goldsboro he would simply go from Smithfield to Bentonville, and if Sherman was moving on the Goldsboro Road take steps to block his progress or attack him in flank. Sherman would first encounter Hardee and Hardee could fall back to him, and already he had Bragg (by the 16th) and might get some of the western troops. Possibly Sherman would let the existence of two roads entice him into dividing his army, and the troops on the Goldsboro could be attacked before those on the New Goldsboro could come to their assistance. Now on the 14th, the day before he crossed to march for Goldsboro, Sherman had written Grant that "man for man" he could beat the Confederates, but all the same he wanted, as a fact, to get by without the risk of fighting, and in the same letter says—"I will force him to guard Raleigh until I have interposed between it and Goldsboro." He thought that he could do this because the road to Raleigh and the regular roads to Goldsboro were one and the same almost as far as Averysboro (called by some Averagesboro). Near that hamlet the two roads to Goldsboro left the road to Raleigh, which continued on towards Smithfield and then Raleigh, and using both headed for Cox's Bridge near Goldsboro. He, therefore, designed driving whatever Confederates he found on the other side of the Cape Fear to Averysboro, or to the Raleigh Road via Smithfield and turning off himself down the two roads to Goldsboro. He need fear nothing for the trains sent by the Faison Station route, and he only had ambulance and ammunition wagons with his troops on the two roads.

His letters of the 14th to both Grant and Howard, who commanded the right wing of his army, gave in very much the same terms the course he would pursue the next day. He writes—"We must make a strong feint on Raleigh, and strike with cavalry, if possible, the road near Smithfield." He means the *railroad* between Raleigh and Goldsboro. Further on he says—"To this end the cavalry will move tonight across the bridge [Sherman had two pontoon bridges], beginning at 3:00 a.m., and will push tomorrow up the plank road to about Averagesboro, Slocum [who commanded the left wing of the army], following up with 4 disencumbered divisions [Slocum had 6 divisions] to near the forks of the road, moving his trains [the light baggage and ammunition, etc., wagons] by a crossroad towards Bentonville. The next move will be the cavalry to Elevation [between Averysboro and Smithfield] and Slocum will cross Black River [The name for the upper South River]. The next move will bring Slocum to Bentonville, and Kilpatrick, supported by a division

of infantry, will make a dash for the railroad. This is as far as I will now determine." Of course, he tells Howard what that general and his 7 divisions are to do, and it is enough to say that when Slocum near Averysboro turned into the Goldsboro Road, Howard would take the New Goldsboro. (In fact, Howard, not being in the fight, entered his road first.) And also that near Cox's Bridge they would unite again.

Now Hardee and Hampton took a stand near Averysboro, and on the 16th fought so well that Sherman's whole army, after that, left Smithfield and Bentonville and the railroad alone, and followed the two roads to Cox's Bridge. As Slocum on the Goldsboro approached the section nearest Bentonville, but two miles south of that place, on the morning of the 19th he found Johnston's army, now united, directly across it, blocking his passage. Sherman had committed three great blunders. He had delayed and thereby allowed Johnston to add Bragg to Hardee, almost doubling Johnston's force. Secondly, he was attempting to march across Johnston's front. And now he had divided his army so that his enemy could attack one-half at a time. And let us remember that Sherman thought that Johnston had 40,000 to 45,000 men. Furthermore, he will add other blunders to these three.

While on the march from Fayetteville to the turn-off near Averysboro, Sherman wrote two more self-revealing letters. He had ordered Gillmore at Charleston to go and destroy the rails between Sumter and Florence, South Carolina, and Gillmore had asked about using the garrison troops, so Sherman writes on the 15th—"As to the garrisons of those cities, I don't feel disposed to be over-generous, and should not hesitate to burn Savannah, Charleston, and Wilmington, or either of them if the garrisons were needed." And on the 16th he writes Terry about Sheridan coming from Virginia—"if he reaches me I will make all North Carolina howl."

On the 15th Hampton resisted the march of Sherman, and Hardee placed his infantry in a fine position south of Averysboro across the junction of the road to Raleigh by Averysboro, and that to Raleigh by way of Smithfield, thus meeting Sherman's threat to Raleigh which Sherman had called a feint. Unless Hardee was driven away Sherman must go by the roads towards Goldsboro eastward. At the point where Hardee now stood, he fortified a short line between a creek tributary to the Cape Fear and the swamp of Black River, putting the small division of



McLaws, which had Conner's Brigade (now probably under General Kennedy) and that of George Harrison, to defend this, the main line. The yet smaller brigades of Elliott and Rhett composing Taliaferro's Division, he moved forward. Elliott was halted behind a second line of light breastworks, and Rhett sent forward to skirmish. Some of Hampton's cavalry was present to handle that of Kilpatrick. Altogether Hardee had little over 8,000 of all arms.

Sherman's army advanced with Slocum's wing in front and on this day, the 15th, reached "Taylor's Hole." On the 16th at 7:30 Kilpatrick, supported by infantry, began the fighting. Sherman credited Hardee with 20,000. He himself used Slocum's two corps and his cavalry, which all show losses in the tables—the 14th Corps, 116; the cavalry, 81; and the 20th Corps, 485; in all 682. By mid-day Taliaferro had been driven back to Hardee's main line, held by McLaws, but that was then held until the fighting died down near or at sunset. Rhett, skirmishing far in front, was captured. Some valuable officers were lost, and especially mentioned were Lt. Col. DeTreville of the infantry and Capt. Henry Lesesne of the artillery.

That night Hampton's cavalry reported that Sherman was crossing Black River, which meant that he was going clear to Goldsboro, or would turn north near "Elevation," where a road ran to Raleigh; or at a point two miles south of Bentonville, where another road ran to the Capital City. As Johnston guarded the latter, Hardee went to Elevation. There was little risk in leaving his lines near Averysboro with Slocum near them when Sherman's other wing was far on the way towards Goldsboro. Wheeler was watching Slocum and Butler's Division was in front of Sherman to impede his marching. Hardee had lost "between 4 and 5 hundred" at Averysboro. His infantry now was only about 5,400. The roads were almost impassible in places. Hardee, in fact, never got his artillery as far as Bentonville. Sherman had force enough to corduroy the worst spots for his. On the 18th Johnston called Hardee from Elevation to Bentonville.

Sherman now did a strange thing. He slept the night of the 18th with Slocum's wing within 5 miles of the danger spot, where the road from Smithfield through Bentonville towards Wilmington crosses the Goldsboro Road, and in his report says—"I had expected just such a movement [that Johnston would be at the crossing] all the way from Fayetteville, and was prepared for it."

But early in the morning of the 19th he leaves Slocum to go on to the danger spot and takes himself over to Howard's wing, out of danger, on the New Goldsboro Road, and as Howard was now far ahead does not catch up with him until near Cox's Bridge late in the day. And Sherman, as we saw, thought that Johnston had "40 to 45 thousand men." Slocum's wing had less than 30,000 and Kilpatrick's cavalry. Writing to Grant the day after the battle, Sherman says—"I was with the left wing until I supposed all danger was past." And even in his report he excuses his action by saying—"All the signs induced me to believe that the enemy would make no further opposition to our progress, and would not attempt to strike us in flank while in motion." Very wishful thinking! He knew that Hardee had blocked the way to Raleigh at Averysboro and gone to Elevation to block the road there, and that Johnston would have Hardee, Bragg, and some of the western troops to block the way to Raleigh through Bentonville. As to where Johnston would take his stand he could not possibly know, and if Johnston had 40,000 he certainly would not be afraid to meet half of his own 60,000 at the least. As Johnston's cavalry had fought him on both the Goldsboro roads all of the 17th and 18th, he knew that Johnston could not but know that he had divided his army. Sherman must have had some plan up his sleeve that miscarried—some such plan as letting Slocum, on finding Johnston at the crossing, fortify, while he brought up Howard on the other side. But while Howard had camped only two or three miles from Slocum, Sherman traveled six miles without catching up. Here he got word from Slocum that he was fighting cavalry. At Falling Creek Church, nine miles from the battle at the crossing he caught up with Howard, and also heard from Slocum that he was fighting Johnston's army. He sent Slocum orders to fortify, which Slocum had already done and that he would bring Howard up on the eastern side of Johnston. However, some of Blair's Corps of Howard's Wing was clear over near Mt. Olivet on the Wilmington and Weldon railroad. It was not until the morning of the 20th, the day after Slocum's battle, that Sherman with all of Howard started back. What terrible bungling! As it turned out, Johnston was still there at the crossing. Slocum with 28,000 and Kilpatrick's cavalry had not been able to drive away Johnston who only had not more now than 15,000 infantry beyond all doubt. Hampton's cavalry had always had 1,000 less than Kilpatrick's. In fact, even at sunset of the 21st Johnston was still fighting Sherman's whole army,



and had been doing so since mid-day of the 20th when Sherman with Howard's wing joined that of Slocum.

Coming back now to Slocum's battle on the 19th, at 7:00 a.m. that general began his march towards the junction. He was resisted by Butler's cavalry and did not reach the junction until 10:00 a.m. He found there Johnston squarely across the Goldsboro Road and fortifying with ordinary breastworks. Johnston had moved down from Bentonville but had been delayed by Hardee's difficulties in coming from Elevation. The manner in which the road from Bentonville struck the Goldsboro, it is very important to notice. The road from Bentonville, when still some distance away, forked, and so crossed the Goldsboro in two places a mile and a half apart. Johnston took the west fork, that led towards Clinton and Wilmington. To check Slocum Johnston need not concern himself about the east fork, but he had to guard it also if Sherman brought Howard back from Falling Creek, as happened next day. Johnston for the present drew up his forces with Bragg's troops to the south of the Goldsboro Road and the western troops north of it, and put Hardee beyond the western troops. Neither Cheatham, nor S. D. Lee were on hand; only Stewart and Stevenson. Stewart was put over all the western troops and had Loring and Hill as division commanders, Stevenson's troops being assigned to Hill's Division. Bragg himself was on the field but Hoke is the only division commander mentioned as under him. When Hardee reached the field Bragg begged for McLaw's Division, and Johnston says that he "injudiciously" sent it. Bragg wanted it as a reserve placed right at the crossing, but it was not used in the battle and was very much needed by Hardee in the great afternoon charge. The only artillery the Confederates had on the field was the two batteries of Hoke, for the western troops could bring none and Hardee's were held off by high water. Both batteries were placed at the crossing, supported by western troops. Johnston's straight line was in front of the Bentonville Road facing west, and was therefore nearly perpendicular to the Goldsboro. There was a long open field in front of Hardee, but most of the army was in woods on damp low ground which extended far back of Slocum's line opposite.

When Slocum arrived, driving slowly before him Butler's cavalry, he deployed in front of Hoke with two brigades, and in front of Stewart with one, and then attacked Hoke. These all belonged to Carlin's Division of Davis's Corps. While they were

fighting Hoke, Davis put Morgan's Division to the right of Carlin, and it extended well beyond Hoke's left flank. Slocum then increased the line in front of Stewart, bringing up a brigade of his other corps (William's) and moving one of Morgan's from its position east of Carlin to help the line in front of Stewart. Kilpatrick was not yet on the field, nor the bulk of William's Corps. After Carlin's attack against both Hoke and Stewart failed Slocum tried no assaulting, but both armies fortified and skirmished very actively and heavily. Johnston had to wait for Hardee in order to assume the aggressive. Slocum's policy was not to fight but hold. He had sent a staff officer to Sherman when he was fighting Butler's cavalry, and another when he began to attack Hoke and Stewart. This last officer had to ride ten miles or more to Falling Creek to find Sherman, and then back. Sherman told him to do the very thing he had already done—hold Johnston rather than attack him with all his forces. Slocum had called up everything he had in both of his corps, with slight exception, and also Kilpatrick; and as they arrived put them on his left. But Johnston attacked before all these troops could be put in this advanced line of Slocum's. However, it was long and fortified, and had artillery.

Not until 2:30 p.m. or later could Johnston in the thick woods array his line for its purpose. Then starting Hardee with the brigades of Elliott and Rhett under Taliaferro, he ordered his whole line forward from right to left. Hardee led the magnificent charge, leaping his horse over the breastworks as he came to them. The enemy were everywhere driven back across the Goldsboro Road. The ground in front of Hardee was at first open and Elliott's Brigade (or was it Rhett's now under Col. William Butler, that held the extreme right) gained over a mile. The gains in space diminished towards the center, where the woods interfered with the charge, and included only the first line of Federal works on Bragg's side of the Bentonville Road. All along the line of Johnston's charge his troops were halted when Federal fortifications in the thick woods were reached, and Confederate assaults made little impression. In a few places small bodies broke over only to be captured, and in two cases they went on beyond the fighting and returned later to the Army. Sherman speaks of six assaults being repulsed. Johnston tells how hard it was to array lines in the thick woods. At any rate the fighting went on until about 6 o'clock when Johnston, in his account to Lee, says of the Federals—"they seemed to attempt the offensive



but with little effect." However, Hill's report shows that Pettus was attacked and Pettus wounded. In this line of fortifications in the woods south of the Goldsboro Road, Slocum had gradually placed both of his corps, and Kilpatrick—nearly 30,000 men. Night ended the contest. The Confederates captured four guns but had no horses to bring off the fourth gun. Johnston told Lee in his letter that "the enemy were able to hold their ground until night only by the help of dense thickets and breastworks."

Johnston next morning determined not to attack the fortifications in dense woods held by twice his numbers, and also not to retreat. He tells Lee that he wanted to collect his wounded, and hoped that the enemy, having superior numbers, would attack him in his fortifications. Early he learned of Sherman's coming from the east, so he changed his lines, putting them parallel now to the Goldsboro Road and a little north of it where the two forks of the Bentonville Road were only a mile apart, and he could cover both. At the point where Bragg and Stewart met with a very obtuse angle he made the fortification strong, and he used a brigade of Hardee and McLaws's Division to extend Bragg's line well beyond the eastern fork, by which Sherman's right wing under Howard could try to go to Bentonville and on to Smithfield. He dared stay, and with his little army reduced by losses, to fight Sherman's united forces. Mill Creek, and two others also, were just behind him, and if he retreated he could cross and burn the bridges. He knew Sherman was ever loath to attack, and so it proved in this case. Slocum had attacked Bragg's line in the forenoon of the 20th vigorously, but after Sherman came, and until night, the Federals only used artillery and very heavy skirmishing.

Johnston could have withdrawn that night but again waited. On the 21st Sherman's tactics were the same, but late in the day Mower, a fighter, went forward to assault Johnston's extreme left beyond Bragg and McLaws where the dismounted cavalry of Wheeler held some breastworks that he had constructed that morning to protect the Bentonville Road from flank attack. Mower's Division went over these slight works and pressed Wheeler back almost to the coveted road—all important to Johnston. There was at hand a little Confederate brigade (Cummins' Brigade of McLaws' Division) that had been on detached duty until this day. It had but "213" men. This Johnston threw in front, and also ordered Wheeler to attack Mower's exposed right flank and rear, and Hampton with the 8th Texas Cavalry

his left flank, which was also exposed. Mower was driven back, and Sherman writes that he quickly "ordered a general attack by our skirmish line from left to right. Quite a noisy battle ensued, during which General Mower was enabled to regain his connection with his own corps by moving his left rear."

This ended the battle of Bentonville. Johnston retreated that night across Mill Creek, and waited two miles away. Sherman went on to Goldsboro, added Schofield's two corps to his own four and his cavalry, and came back to go on to Raleigh and then to Greensboro. Sherman later wrote: "With the knowledge now possessed of his small force, of course I committed an error in not overwhelming Johnston's army on the 21st of March, 1865." He should have said—tremendous blunder.

Only a great soldier could have met the issue with the skill and daring shown by Joseph E. Johnston.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman*, 2 vols. (New York, 1875), II, 306.



## CONSTITUTION

## I

The name of this organization shall be The South Carolina Historical Association.

## II

The objects of the Association shall be to promote historical studies in the State of South Carolina; to bring about a closer relationship among persons living in this State who are interested in history; and to encourage the preservation of historical records.

## III

Any person approved by the executive committee may become a member by paying \$2.00 and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$2.00.

## IV

The officers shall be a president, a vice-president, and a secretary and treasurer who shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting. A list of nominations shall be presented by the executive committee, but nominations from the floor may be made. The officers shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attached to their respective offices with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

## V

There shall be an executive committee made up of the officers and of two other members elected by ballot for a term of three years; at the first election, however, one shall be elected for two years. Vacancies shall be filled by election in the same manner at the annual meeting following their occurrence. Until such time they shall be filled by appointment by the president. The duties of the executive committee shall be to fix the date and place of the annual meeting, to attend to the publication of the proceedings of the Association, to prepare a program for the annual meetings, to prepare a list of nominations for the officers of the Association as provided in Article IV, and such other duties as may be from time to time assigned to them by the Association. There shall be such other committees as the president may appoint, or be instructed to appoint, by resolution of the Association.

## VI

There shall be an annual meeting of the Association at the time and place appointed by the executive committee.

## VII

The Association shall publish annually its proceedings to be known as *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*. It shall contain the constitution, by-laws, and minutes of the annual meeting, together with such papers and documents selected by the executive committee as may be published without incurring a deficit. It is understood that all papers read at the annual meeting become the property of the Association except as otherwise may be provided by the executive committee. The executive committee shall annually elect an editor of the *Proceedings*. He shall have authority to appoint an associate editor and shall be a member of the executive committee, but without vote.

## VIII

This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at the annual business meeting.



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- BARNWELL, ROBERT W., JR.....Murray, Ky.  
*Assistant Professor of History, Kentucky State Teachers College*
- BARNWELL, MRS. ROBERT W., JR.....Columbia, S. C.  
*Columbia High School*
- BLAKE, EUGENE H.....Greenwood, S. C.
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- CHILDS, MRS. ARNEY R.....Columbia, S. C.  
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*Department of Economics, Government and History, U. S. Military Academy*
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*Professor of History, Furman University*
- GLENN, BESS.....Washington, D. C.  
*Associate Archivist, The National Archives*
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*Professor of Ancient Languages, University of South Carolina*

\* In the armed forces.

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KIBLER, LILLIAN	Spartanburg, S. C.
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<i>Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>	
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<i>Columbia High School</i>	
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<i>Assistant Professor of History, The Citadel</i>	
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<i>Assistant Director, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina</i>	
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<i>Instructor in History, Lander College</i>	
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<i>Head of Department of History and Social Science, Coker College</i>	
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<i>Associate Professor of History, Newberry College</i>	
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<i>Professor of Economics and Sociology, Converse College</i>	
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<i>Professor of History, Furman University</i>	

\* In the armed forces.



TILGHMAN, MRS. HORACE L.....	Marion, S. C.
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<i>Instructor in History, Columbia College</i>	
TOWNSEND, LEAH.....	Florence, S. C.
VARN, SALLIE .....	Greenville, S. C.
<i>Greenville Senior High School</i>	
WALLACE, DAVID DUNCAN.....	Spartanburg, S. C.
<i>Professor of History and Economics, Wofford College</i>	
WATKINS, H. H.....	Anderson, S. C.
<i>Judge of the United States District Court (Retired)</i>	
WATSON, HARRY L.....	Greenwood, S. C.
<i>Editor, The Index-Journal</i>	
WEST, MARY PEARLE.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Columbia High School</i>	
WIENEFELD, ROBERT H.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>	
WILKEN, HAZEL C.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>Rivers Junior High School</i>	
WILLIAMS, MRS. RICHARD.....	Greenwood, S. C.
<i>Chairman of Department of History and Government, Lander College</i>	
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<i>Assistant Professor of History, Duke University</i>	
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